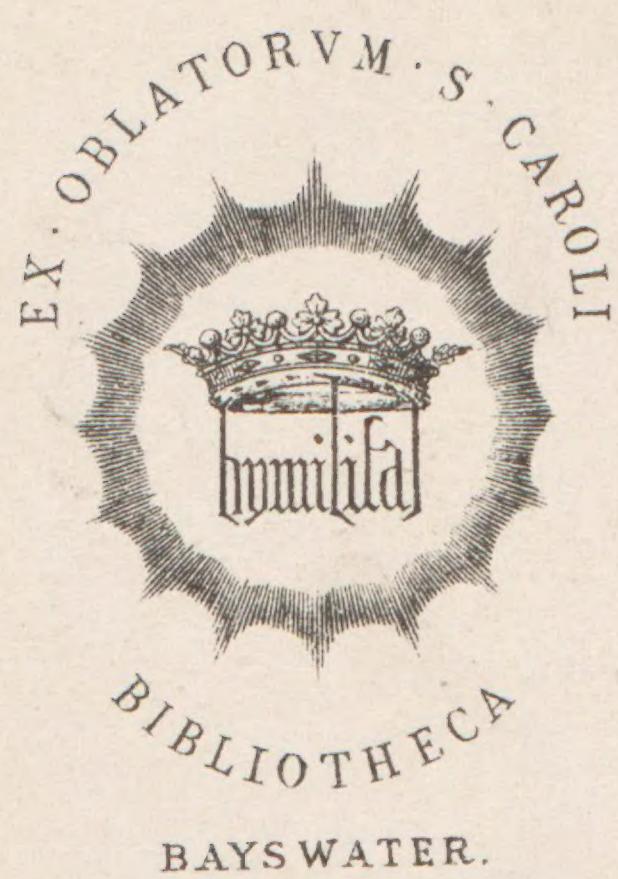


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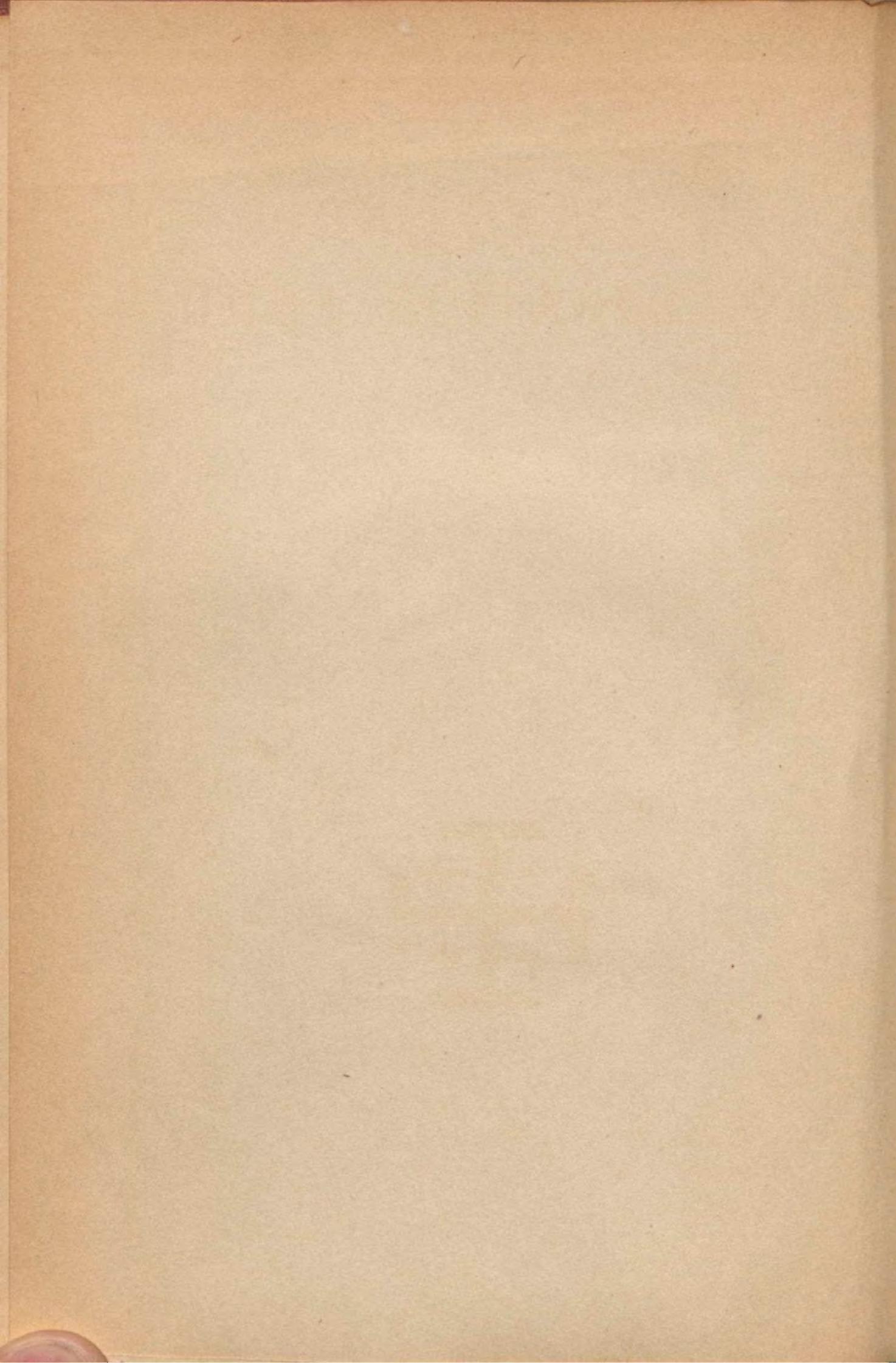


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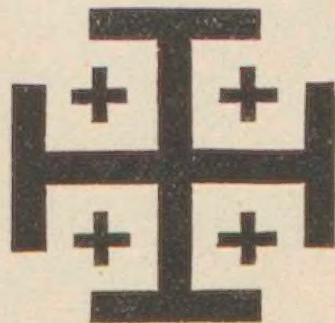


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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Committee have to announce that during the winter months the survey of the country lying between the south end of the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean and southward to Kadesh Barnea will be carried out. This tract of desert land has hitherto remained for long unvisited, but is believed to have been formerly inhabited, and to contain some interesting remains of occupation, having been in ancient times the highway from Palestine to Egypt.

As in their great Palestine Survey, the Committee are promised the assistance of officers of the Royal Engineers, and it is their intention that the party shall be accompanied by an archaeologist who can appreciate and record whatever may be found bearing on the history of the country.

The permission of the Imperial Government of Turkey has been obtained for this work. The execution of this survey will complete the map up to the frontier of Egypt.

The Committee hope for additional financial help towards this important undertaking.

For a further account of the proposed survey, the attention of readers may be directed to the article by Sir Charles Watson in this issue; below, pp. 18 *sqq.*

The Annual of the *P.E.F.* for 1912-1913 is now published. It is a double number, containing a description of the excavations at 'Ain Shems from April to July, 1912, and in December of the same year, together with a full account of the very interesting tombs and their contents. There are sixty-two plates, including beautiful coloured plates of a fine painted "Philistine" vase, and eleven illustrations in the text. Dr. Duncan Mackenzie gives an illuminating and instructive account in the discoveries made by the

party, and explains, in an interesting manner, the archaeological and other features. Especially noteworthy are his views of the significance of the evidence for the history of Semitic archaeology in general, and of the Biblical history of Beth Shemesh in particular. This double volume may be had on application to the Office; the price is 31s. 6d., except for all subscribers of 21s. and upwards.

The Fund has just published General Sir Charles Warren's work, entitled *The Early Weights and Measures of Mankind*. It is an exhaustive investigation of a very difficult problem, and is the outcome of many years' labour. The book contains full tables and explanations, and a careful presentation of all the evidence upon which Sir Charles Warren bases his many important and interesting conclusions. We hope to print a review of this book in an early issue.

We have received the first part of a new quarterly journal devoted to Egyptological studies. *Ancient Egypt* is published under the editorship of Prof. Flinders Petrie, assisted by Prof. Ernest Gardner and Dr. Alan Gardiner, in connection with the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, University College, London (Macmillan and Co., 7s. per annum). The present number contains some splendid illustrations (with a fine coloured representation of jewellery of the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties), and numerous articles and notes; especially interesting is a reprint of Prof. Petrie's recent lecture on "Egyptian Beliefs in a Future Life." Among the contributors are the well-known Egyptologists, Prof. P. E. Newberry and Prof. Freiherr von Bissing. The next number will contain papers by Dr. Spiegelberg, Dr. Capart, Dr. Alan Gardiner and other authorities. We welcome this new indication of the increasing interest taken in Oriental studies, and wish the journal success.

Dr. Peter Thomsen, well known for his bibliography of Palestinian literature, has published an admirable *Kompendium der Palästinischen Altertumskunde* (Mohr, Tübingen, 1913; price 4 m. 80, bound). It contains a complete but concise introduction to Palestine archaeology and antiquities, with very full references to the literature on each subject, and with forty-two plates. There is nothing like it at present, and both students and ordinary readers will be glad to know of this very handy book. We hope to refer to it

more fully in the next issue. It may be added that Dr. Thomsen's bibliographical labours are supported by the German Society for the Exploration of Palestine, and two volumes of his Bibliography of Palestinian literature have already appeared. The third volume (for 1910-1914) is expected to appear in 1915. It will doubtless be as complete and reliable as its predecessors have proved to be, for this great work is indispensable to all those who are interested in Palestinian studies. Dr. Thomsen hopes that all writers and publishers will be good enough to send him copies of their works so that he can make a correct list of them. His address is Kügelgenstr. 14, II; Dresden Altstadt, 19. The attention of English and American writers is especially called to this request.

Owing to want of space, we are compelled to hold over several articles, among them a translation (edited by Dr. Masterman) of an interesting account of the visit of a Rabbi to Palestine in 1759-62.

We understand that Archdeacon Dowling's three articles, which appeared in the April and July issues, have been translated into Russian by Mr. S. Zverinsky, Professor of History at the (Russian) Bethany Theological Seminary. Those who have followed Archdeacon Dowling's articles will be glad to know that he is engaged in extending and completing his researches.

We have received from the Rev. W. S. Caldecott some copies, for sale, of a translation of the *Middoth*, reprinted in pamphlet form from that which appeared in our *Q.S.* (1887, pp. 60-116). The *Middoth* describes in detail the Temple of the Jews, its enclosures, gates, chambers and dimensions. It is in a handy form for the use of anyone studying the subject of the Temple. These, price 1s., can be obtained at the Office of the Fund.

We have also received from the same author a copy of his book "Herod's Temple," just published by C. H. Kelly, 27, Paternoster Row, 8vo, price 6s. In this volume Mr. Caldecott discusses at length, and in detail, the structure and form of the Jewish Temple of the New Testament in manner similar to his treatment of the Tabernacle and the two earlier Temples in previously published volumes.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5s.; unbound, 3s. 6d.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries. The Rev. R. F. Bigg-Wither has kindly consented to act for the district of Wimborne, Hants. Prof. Porter of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, has consented to act as Honorary Secretary of the P.E.F. in the place of Mr. Freyer who has removed from the district; and at Glasgow Prof. McFadyen, of the United Free Church, takes the place of the Rev. Adam Welch who has resigned the post of Local Honorary Secretary owing to his departure.

Plaster casts of the raised contour map of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the map is $\frac{1}{1000}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hill are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3s. Case and packing extra.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6s. 9d. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10s. 6d. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions early in the year, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1912 is given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6s., by post 6s. 4d.

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6s. The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. F. Lish, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary General Secretary for Palestine, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, will give all information necessary.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Ancient Egypt: a quarterly journal, ed. by Prof. Flinders Petrie, F.R.S., F.B.A. Part I (Macmillan), see above, p. 2.

Annual of the British School at Athens, No. XVIII. Session 1911-12.

University of Liverpool; Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Vol. VI, Nos. 1-2: The Keftiu-people of the Egyptian Monuments, by G. A. Wainwright; etc.

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. XXXV, Part 6: Some Amorite Personal Names in Gen. xiv, by the Rev. W. T. Piltz; etc.

The Expository Times, Aug. and Sept., 1913: Inscribed Hebrew Weights from Palestine, by Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy; Canaan and the Babylonian Civilization, by Prof. Ed. König; etc.

A New Decipherment of the Hittite Hieroglyphs, by R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., F.S.A. (from *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXIV).

The Catholic Students' "Aids" to the Bible: Old Testament, by Dr. Hugh Pope, O.P., S.T.M. (Washbourne, London, 1913.)

The Bible in the Light of Antiquity, by the Rev. W. Cruickshank. (Guild Text-books: Black, London, 1913.)

The Early Weights and Measures of Mankind, by General Sir Charles Warren. (Published by the P.E.F.) See above, p. 2.

The London Quarterly Review, Oct., 1913.

Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy and Science, Sept., 1913; The prehistory of Islam, by Edmond Power.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, Oct., 1913.

The Asiatic Quarterly Review, Oct., 1913.

The American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXXIV, 3.

The Biblical World, Aug.-Nov., 1913.

Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur, by Prof. J. A. Montgomery (Univ. of Pennsylvania Publications, 1913).

The American Antiquarian, Vol. XXXV, 2 and 3.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. IV, No. 2.

The American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XVII, 3.

The Museum Journal: Philadelphia, 1913.

Journal Asiatique, May-June, 1913: Les Hyksôs et la Restauration nationale dans la tradition Égyptienne et dans l'histoire, Études et notes complémentaires, by R. Weill; etc.

Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique, Jan.-June, 1913.

Sphinx, Vol. XVII, fasc. IV and V.

Revue Biblique, Oct., 1913: Quelques représentations antiques du Saint-Sépulcre Constantinien, by R. P. Vincent; Une visite à l'île de Graye, by R. P. Savignac; etc.

Kompendium d. Palästinischen Altertumskunde, by Dr. Peter Thomsen, see above, p. 2.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Vol. XXXVI, Part 3: Materials for the historical topography of Palaestina Tertia, by Dr. R. Hartmann; report upon Greek and Latin epigraphy for the years 1910-12, by Dr. F. Bleckmann; etc.

Palestijnse Masselen, by J. de Groot. (Wolters, Groningen, 1913.)

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ. Aug.-Nov., 1913.

Echos d'Orient, July-Nov., 1913.

Al-Mashriq: Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle; Journey to Tur 'Abdîn, by the Abbé Isaac Armalé; fragment of a Syrian funerary monument, by P. Séb. Ronzevalle; etc.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books:—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten*. (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Petrée* (1829).

Prof. E. Huntingdon, *Palestine and its Transformation*. (Constable and Co.)

Libby and Hoskins. *The Jordan Valley and Petra* (2 Vols., 1903).

Père Abel, *Une Croisière autour de la Mer Morte* (1909).

The Committee desire specially to thank Mrs. Ross Scott for the following contributions to the Library:—

Kitto's Daily Bible Illustrations (8 Vols.).

The Banks of the Nile. Painted by Ella du Cane. Text by John A. Todd. Notes on the Plates by Florence du Cane.

The Man of Egypt, by Clayton Sedgwick Cooper, M.A.

An Artist in Egypt, by Walter Tyndale, R.I.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE BEDOUIN OF THE SINAITIC PENINSULA.

By W. E. JENNINGS-BRAMLEY.

(Continued from *Q.S.*, 1913, p. 84.)XXXIII.—*The Fertility of the Peninsula.*¹

THE contrast between the fertility of the Valley of the Nile and its barren dependency, the Peninsula of Sinai, is so much to the disadvantage of the latter, that we need not be surprised if its possible resources have not entered into the consideration of the Government. It would certainly seem, at first sight, that, with its vast works of organization and development, both in Egypt proper and now in the Soudan, the State had enough on hand without wasting any of the revenue on what might appear the hopeless task of reclaiming the irreclaimable.

But a thirteen months' wandering all over Sinai and among the Bedouin has convinced me that so much might be done, and with so little expenditure that, I think, the matter should be worth the consideration of those in authority.

Let me at once say that it is not as an agricultural country that I see any possible future for the Peninsula. It depends too greatly on the rainfall for water, to make agriculture possible, even were not the soil, except in some small districts, unsuitable. The *Mimbatach*, of which I will speak further on, is one of these few districts.

It is true the Bedouin yearly sow the beds of the wādies, but they do this with little hope of reaping a harvest more than once in every three or four years. These uncertain crops are, however, so abundant, when the rainfall has lasted long enough, that the Arabs fancy that, had they but the water, every year would be as rich in its yield. But this, of course, is not so. Unrenewed by any

¹ [Although this section has, according to a note on the MS., been printed some years ago, apparently in an Egyptian journal, it has been thought desirable to reproduce it, with a few slight changes, in the present series.—ED.]

alluvial deposits, and never given any manure, it would soon be exhausted, were it not for these enforced periods of recuperative unproductiveness.

As matters are now, the Bedouin have two systems, simple enough, of cultivation. Some, after leveling up the ground with their wooden plough, sow the seed and await events. If the rain comes, the corn will grow; if not, that year is lost. Others wait until the rain has actually begun to fall and then hurriedly sow the grain. The former of these risk there being no rainfall at all. This, however, would not, necessarily, mean the loss of the seed, which can lie several years in the ground without perishing; the greater peril is from rats and birds, such as the red and rock partridges, of which there are many, the latter always to be found near cultivation. The others risk being too late. They may have had to lead their flocks in search of pasture as far from the plots of land which they own, that, when the rain comes, it is impossible for them to return in time to profit by it. The water soon filters through the light soil, and if a crop is to be raised that year, no time can be lost.

Still, as scarcely any man in Sinai expects to grow corn enough even for his own personal consumption, and can never count even on that little in any given year, the result of the harvest is not a thing on which they allow their well-being to depend. The corn, wheat, *dhurz*, and the small water-melon, which they cultivate in some places, add, certainly, to their comfort, but are not items to be considered as resources of the country.

Now, although the rain can never provide sufficient water for any practical and constant irrigation, even of a small portion of the land, yet it would amply satisfy the wants of far more important herds both of camels, goats, and possibly sheep, than are now reared, that is, if it were husbanded as it might be, and has been in time past.

That this was done is proved by the large number of reservoirs to be found at various places in the country. I leave it to others to decide whose work they are. Probably that of the ancient Egyptians. The Bedouin say they were made by the Old People—*Jahel* [*i.e.*, Pre-Islamic]. Whoever designed them, they remain, in their perfect preservation, hewn as they were in the solid rock, a wonderful testimony to the thoroughness of their makers. They could be used tomorrow, if those that have been opened and left

uncovered by the Bedouin were emptied of such sand as has partly filled them, while others were cleared of the mass of bushes and plants.

In the Egma, a high plateau only to be reached by some few paths, so abrupt are the cliffs that surround it, there is one spot where the waters of several minor tributary raincourses flow into the main wady traversing the plateau. At present all this water, except during the few days of the actual rainfall, is lost, but I have been shewn a large reservoir, cut in the solid rock, into which these waters were diverted by a short channel, and the overflow, alone, allowed to find its way again into the main wady. This reservoir was shewn to me by the Sheikh of the Awamra, Suleyman ibn 'Amir, to whom the Egma belongs, and he acknowledged the immense benefit that such a reservoir would be to them, when once cleared of the sand which now partly fills it; for, at present, the water in the Egma has to be fetched either from the *Bir el-Biār* or the *Bir el-Gedid*, a good day and a half each way from some parts of the plateau, and, when fetched, it is salt and bad. Yet I could not persuade the Sheikh to set to and clear out the reservoir. It would cost £30, he argued, and where was the money to come from? Then, when I suggested that he and his sons and his men might do it gradually, he found excuses. There is little a Bedawi does not prefer to steady work. A three days' ride to a well and back for two skins of water is so much less exhausting than setting to and carrying baskets of sand and hauling them out of the depths . . . especially as his wife can fetch the water for him!

I calculated that five men could easily clear out this rock-chamber in a week. I went down myself and should guess its dimensions to be 15 feet by 21 feet. How deep it may be I cannot, of course, say, but the size of the square columns, also cut out of the rock, supporting the roof, favours the supposition that it is of considerable depth.

It is a curious fact that no traces of the ruins of any town whatever have been found in Sinai, and from this one may infer that at no time was it capable of being cultivated to any great extent; but all over the country, and especially in the Egma, which is poorer in water than any other district, you come upon the remains of houses built of dressed stone, square in shape. Some four or five of these are generally found within a short distance of each other and you may be almost certain that a now neglected

reservoir will not be far off. These were probably houses of rest on the roads leading to the mines in the south, and not the ruins of the habitations of a pastoral people. Whatever they are, they prove that the "Old People," when in need of water, contrived to have it. The Bedawi is incapable of restoring, but would know how to appreciate the service rendered him if these reservoirs were put into order again.

Besides utilizing reservoirs already made, I think it would be quite possible, if not easy, to save a great deal of the much-needed rain-water that now runs to waste, by completing the work which Nature has, in many places, successfully commenced, e.g., where the flood of rain-water, falling from a great height on to the rock below, has cut for itself a channel. Wherever the conformation of the ground is thus found suitable, it would be extremely easy to form a reservoir. Almost all the water, for instance, that falls in the Tih desert, in Northern Sinai, finds its way into the Wady 'Arish, fed, as this is, by smaller wadys, which run down into it, both east and west. Just before this mass of water rushes through the channel which it has cut for itself in the Jebel Helal, and which is known as the Daiga, checked by the sudden narrowing of its bed, it overflows the plain on either side. This plain, the Mimbatash, is about the only place in Sinai from which a yearly crop may be expected. Were a dam to be built across the Daiga, a still greater area of land would come under cultivation.

It is questionable, however, whether, considering the minor importance of agriculture in Sinai, this would be worth the expense. There are, certainly, three places in the wady where this dam could be made. At Ikeram the rocks which have fallen across the wady form a natural foundation for any barrier that might be built there.

One objection to the cultivation of the land near springs was pointed out to me by the Bedouin. At the *Ain Goshim*, on seeing the overflow from the pools running to waste, after soaking the surrounding ground for some hundred yards, I enquired why corn was not sown here. Their answer was that wherever men and flocks collect in large numbers for watering, no crop on earth was worth the worry it entailed. Animals strayed into the corn, damage was done, quarels ensued and ended in fights. My informant, one of the Tihah, told me that he himself had tried cultivating this very ground, but after three attempts had given it up.

At the head of the Wādy Robia, the water, which has fallen from a great height on to the rock below, has worn for itself a large basin, from which it now overflows and is lost. All that need be done is to build a stone wall across one end and perhaps heighten the banks ; by this means a large body of water could be kept there from year to year. Rock is at hand, so that the building could be done at little expense or labour. This natural basin of the Wādy Robia has a bad reputation among Arabs, and none will camp near it, but the only reason given to me was that two women and a man had been drowned there not so long ago, which made it self evident to the Bedouin mind that Jinn, up to no good, were haunting its banks. When I suggested that a fence across the dangerous part might even circumvent Jinn, I saw I was treading on delicate ground. Evidently it is wiser, and certainly saves a great deal of trouble, to leave Jinn alone. Whether backed by a local superstition, or for any other cause, a Bedawi is always glad of a reason for doing nothing, but if some one else will take the trouble off his hands, he will lose no time in profiting by the advantages thus gained.

To ensure the proper distribution of water for the herds, the first thing to do, and the simplest, is to put the old reservoirs in working order, not only by emptying them of sand, but by clearing out, and in places re-digging, the channels that lead to them. The soldiers in Nekhl look after the pilgrims when they pass through, and have nothing further to do. After next year¹ no pilgrims will pass by Nekhl on their return route but go direct to Tōr, then their duties will be even less arduous. Could not these soldiers be usefully employed in discovering and clearing out these ancient reservoirs ? Several are married to Haiwat Bedouin women and are thus on good terms with the Arabs, who could assist them, at least in finding them ; for if the Bedouin knew that the work was undertaken for their benefit, they would willingly show those cisterns which they know, fully realizing the immense value of a store of water.

But it is not solely for the sake of the Bedouin that I would suggest this work. It is because I believe that, if only water enough for large herds could be secured, the Government might turn Sinai into a vast camel stud. This country, composed of

¹ [This article was originally written more than ten years ago.—ED.]

sandy plains and rocky hills, is singularly suitable for this purpose ; here both the soft and hard padded camels are successfully bred, although in comparatively small numbers. The present race, excellent as it is in many ways, has become smaller and weaker through constant interbreeding. The Bedouin say that their best camels originally came from the Abbabila ; it would be easy, at Nekhl for instance, to have some stud camels of this breed and so introduce fresh blood into the country. The Bedouin, it is true, are very shy of allowing any of their pedigree—or Safi—camels to be crossed with any unknown strain, and in the first instance they would probably only bring in their baggage camels, but even so, the breed would gradually be strengthened and the number increased. Besides, the baggage camel will always have a greater sale in Cairo than the Hajin Safi camel, as the sole buyers of camels are the fellahin and they only require a beast of burden. Wherever railways appear, the Hajin must, of necessity, disappear. They are still in great demand at Ghaza, and the Arabs tell me that this town is now by far the best market for camels, the finest fetching as much as 30 *bintos* (napoleons).

Water being provided, the question of pasture remains. In most years there is ample, every wady being green with shrubs of every kind that the camels eat. Now and again, not more often, on an average, than every twenty years, three consecutive rainy seasons without any rainfall may dry up all but the most hardy bushes, and the flocks are in a bad way. Would it be possible for the Government, in these very exceptional cases, to grant special facilities for crossing the Canal, where there is always enough pasturage to tide over till the next rainfall ?

But to this difficulty of a recurring want of pasturage, there is a possible solution, which, if successful, would change the whole condition of things in Sinai. Water is important but, even after three rainless years, a certain quantity is always to be found at a few wells and springs. Under such circumstances, however, food for large herds is not to be obtained. Why should not some attempt be made to introduce the Australian salt-bush ? There is every reason to suppose that it would thrive as well in the deserts of Sinai as in those of Australia. Camels imported from Afghanistan have, I am told, thriven marvellously on it. They have increased in size and strength, and while 400 lbs. is the heaviest load that an Arab camel can carry for any long distance, those acclimatized in

Australis are constantly laden with as much as 1,000 lbs. to 1,200 lbs. This bush, with its far reaching roots, requires so little moisture beyond the dew, that it would afford pasturage in the worst years and obviate any necessity for sending the animals far in search of food. It is impossible to over-estimate the difference in the growth of the camel if, especially when young, its supply of food were always certain.

There are other animals that might be bred with advantage in Sinai. Goats they have, and they do well; the rocky, hilly country being eminently suitable for them. The Cashmere goat seems to thrive so well in the Zoological Gardens of Ghizeh that I fancy it might be possible to acclimatize it in the hills of Sinai, where the climate is far cooler than that of the plains. I only offer this as a suggestion. At present the Bedouin use the hair of their goats for making tents, camel ropes, etc. The few which they themselves do not eat are driven to the market of Gaza. The introduction of the Cashmere goat, should it prove possible, would alter this. It would not take long for the Bedouin to discover the enormously increased value of their herds. Even if it is found impracticable to introduce the Cashmere goat, the present flocks would be increased in number, did the Bedouin find them profitable, but, hampered as they are by the quarantine and heavy dues at Suez, it is not worth while to export goats to Egypt. As it is, the Suez Canal has practically cut off the Bedouin of Sinai and made them foreigners in Egypt. A removal of the difficulties of communication would be of great advantage.

Sheep are few in Sinai, none of the pasture being very suitable, but should the salt-bush be successfully introduced, there is no reason why large flocks should not thrive. There can be no doubt that they would be profitable.

Ostriches must certainly have abounded on the plains at a time not so very distant. In many places you still come upon their eggs, broken up, lying on the sand. The grandfathers of this passing generation remember having seen them in their youth. Where they have once been, there can be no reason against re-introducing them, and some places, such as the great plain through which the Brook, the Sahemic and other wadies run, surrounded as it is by hills on almost all sides, for ever green with the bushes and trees that line the wadies, would seem an ideal place for ostrich breeding. By giving the Sheikhs some interest in the profits, and by making

them responsible for the number of birds, very little else would be required. A new departure always entails difficulties, and would, in this case, mean a loss of some birds at the beginning. Perhaps, also, passing raids might destroy a few, but as soon as the Bedouin realized what could be gained by preserving them, all would be well. An immense profit could, I think, be made on the sale of the feathers, as a day's journey would bring them to Suez ready for exportation, while those on the market now have come from Central or South Africa.

Although agriculture is impracticable in Sinai to any important extent, it seems to me possible that olive trees might be grown with advantage on the sides of the wadies. Trees of all sorts prosper there. Figs, when planted, grow luxuriantly; all that is required is a buttress of loose stones, to prevent the rush of water, during the rainy season, from tearing up the roots.

The plain round Nekhl is certainly, in part, capable of cultivation. One of the soldiers told me that his father had dug a well and irrigated some five or six acres, and that the crop of onions and cotton yielded by this land had become proverbial. What he did, others could, with a little guiding energy, also do. So many camels assemble at Nekhl, that manure would not be lacking. What at present hinders Nekhl from becoming a more important town, is the difficulty of communication with Suez. The road is good, yet every *arib* of corn that is brought in has cost half a *lindo* (10 frs.) in carriage, and has been four days on the road, for the ordinary camel will not carry more than one *arib*, though exceptional animals may be laden with as much as one-and-a-half.

If they go to Gaza for their corn, it costs them 15s. to 20s. Corn to those at Nouweba costs still more. Now to men such as the ten soldiers previously mentioned, whose pay ranges from £1 to £1 10s. a month, the price of this corn or barley, 73 P.T. the *arib*, and 40 P.T. for the carriage, is almost prohibitive. With families it is wonderful that they manage to exist at all. It is true that they are generally allowed to fetch their provisions themselves, most of them possessing at least one camel, but this means that instead of being at their post, they have to spend their time in travelling backwards and forwards, fetching corn. Some supplement their pay by dealing in such things as coffee or sugar, which they bring from Suez, and which command exorbitant prices at Nekhl. They also add to their incomes by sales to passing pilgrims. Would it not be

better to pay them somewhat more and oblige them to stay at their post, that is to say, when something has been found for them to do? Or could the government keep a store of corn and barley at Nekhl and sell it to them at a reasonable price?

Another suggestion to remove the difficulty is to provide an autocar, which could run between Nekhl and Suez say three times a week. The road is in such good order that only one place need be repaired and that is in the Wady Zudr, where, for a short distance, the track runs over rocky ground which would have to be levelled. With such a means of constant communication between the two places, Nekhl would become the centre of the Bedouin trade which now goes to Akaba, and Akaba itself would trade with Nekhl instead of with Suez.

The road which the autocar would have to take is not the ordinary Hadj road, over the Jebel el-Baha, but that along the Wady Zudr, to the 'Ain Zudr, and so to Nekhl, and the distance could easily be covered in a day. A very ordinary sized car would carry ten sacks of grain, and, at the same time, bring messages backwards and forwards, by this means keeping Nekhl in constant touch with the outer world.

Before closing these few pages on Sinai, I must mention what, under existing circumstances, has been a real grievance of the Bedouin.

The Government is very laudably anxious to put a stop to the raids which keep all the tribes of Sinai in a constant ferment. All such raids have been forbidden, and the Sheikhs have been told that all matters of dispute must be referred to the government representatives at Ma'an or Akaba. This is an excellent decision, but, unfortunately, the Bedouin have discovered from experience that, for example, in a case of theft, interminable, though inevitable delays occur between the robbery and any restitution or punishment, thus all chance of recovering their camels is lost. The animals have either been sold or are in such condition as to be worthless.

It is hard to prevent them taking the law into their own hands, and yet not to give them a chance of speedy redress. A few well-mounted, well-armed men sent in pursuit immediately the alarm is given, could rout most raiding-parties. But as a preventative, patrols watching the main roads would soon put a stop to any but rare raiding parties, for they are bound to come by certain roads on account of the wells, and if these were patrolled, they would have

no chance of success. Once a general feeling of security prevailed, both among strong and weak tribes, there can be no doubt that another incentive would be given to the keeping of large herds.

I have only indicated what I believe to be the resources of Sinai. It seems to me that Egypt could gain many advantages from a country so close to hand, whence a constant supply of the best camels could be drawn, with very little outlay. The minor questions of goats, ostriches, and olive growing could remain in abeyance at present.

Once a shrub such as the salt-bush has been introduced, and means found to store enough water to give the people confidence in the welfare of their beasts, the flocks would increase without further encouragement on the part of the Government, although its assistance in improving the breed of camels would be invaluable.

(To be continued.)

THE DESERT OF THE WANDERINGS.

By SIR CHARLES M. WATSON, K.C.M.G., C.B.

THE news that the survey of the district lying to the south of Palestine is about to be taken in hand, will be received with much satisfaction by subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund, as it is a country full of interest to students of the Bible, and, at present we know little about it, notwithstanding its proximity to Palestine and Egypt.

It will be remembered that the survey of Western Palestine, carried out by the Society in the years 1872-77, included the country between the Mediterranean and river Jordan, from Tyre and Banias on the north, to a line running from near Gaza, through Beersheba, to the Dead Sea on the south, thus comprising the area usually known as the Holy Land. But, at that time, it was not possible to extend the survey south of Beersheba, into the country lying between Palestine and the line of the Egyptian frontier, which runs from Rafah on the Mediterranean to the head of the Gulf of Akabah; and it was necessary to postpone to a future period the investigation of this district, which is often referred to in the earlier books of the Bible, in connection with the history of Abraham and

Isaac, and the account of the wanderings of the Israelites during the forty years' delay, before they were allowed to enter into the Promised Land.

Although, however, no proper survey has yet been made, and many square miles are quite unexplored, a certain amount of information with regard to the district has been collected since the completion of the survey of Western Palestine, and a good deal has been written on the subject. It would seem, therefore, desirable to refer readers of the *Quarterly Statement* to some of these publications, in order that they may be in a position to understand the results which it is hoped may be arrived at, and the questions which may be solved, by the survey now about to be commenced.

Of the many books which deal with the matter, there are two which are specially worthy of notice. These are:—

The Desert of the Exodus, by Prof. E. H. Palmer, published by Messrs. Deighton, Bell and Co. in 1871.

Kadesh Barnea, Its importance and probable Site, by Dr. H. Clay Trumbull, published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton in 1884.

There was no man who knew more of the Peninsula of Sinai and of the deserts lying to the north, between Egypt and Palestine, than the late Professor Palmer. He took part in the survey of Sinai carried out under the Ordnance Survey in 1868, by the late General Sir C. W. Wilson; and, in 1869-70, he made a reconnaissance of the country between Sinai and Palestine, on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund, during which tour he made some interesting discoveries in that little explored district. His last notable journey from Gaza across the desert to Suez, and his murder by the Bedawin in Wady Sudar during the Egyptian Campaign of 1882, are matters of history. His book *The Desert of the Exodus*, with the maps it contains, are worthy of careful study, and the last chapter on "The Topography of the Exodus" is of special interest.

Doctor Trumbull's work, *Kadesh Barnea*, is also a work of great value for students, and the author was one of the very few travellers who have been able to visit the Oasis of 'Ain Kades, the probable site of Kadesh Barnea of the Bible, where the Israelites were encamped when, in consequence of their unbelief, they were forbidden to enter Palestine from the south. The book contains an excellent *résumé* of the views of travellers and writers upon the subject, and a full list of authorities, which will be found very useful for reference.

There have been a considerable number of papers in the *Quarterly Statement* dealing with the question of the Route of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan, and the probable identification of sites connected therewith, of which the more important are the following:—

1871. Page 3. The Desert of the Tih, by Prof. E. H. Palmer.
 1879. , 59. A Journey on Foot through Arabia Petraea, by Rev. F. W. Holland.
 1880. , 231. The Topography of the Exodus, by Capt. C. R. Conder.
 1881. , 60. Kadesh Barnea, by Capt. C. R. Conder.
 1883. , 225. The Route of the Exodus, by C. Pickering Clarke.
 1884. , 4. Notes to accompany a Map of the late Rev. F. W. Holland's Journey from Nakl to 'Ain Kades, Gebel Magrah, and Ismailia, by Col. Sir C. W. Wilson.
 1884. , 230. The Route of the Exodus, by J. Baker Greene.
 1885. , 231. A Naturalist's Journey to Sinai, Petra, and South Palestine, by E. Chichester Hart.
 1896. , 175. The Route of the Exodus, by Capt. A. E. Haynes.
 1908. , 125. From Hazareth to Mount Hor, by the Rev. Caleb Hauser.

Turning to the Bible we find many references to the district—the south country, as it is frequently called—which is now about to be surveyed. We read in Genesis that the patriarch Abraham, who had been living at Hebron, moved into the south country after the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and dwelt at Gerar, a place between Kadesh and Shur. The meaning of Shur is a matter of controversy, but it has been assumed by some that it was the fortified border line between Egypt and Palestine, and it is not impossible that this border was somewhere near the present boundary of delimitation between the two countries. From Gerar Abraham returned to Beersheba, and then to Hebron, there he died. His son Isaac is also reported to have lived at Gerar in the south country, and to have reopened the wells which his father had made. It was through the south country, again, that Jacob travelled, when he went from Beersheba into Egypt to see his son Joseph, and he appears to have journeyed by the road of Shur, which was evidently a good road, suitable for wagon transport, and it is to be hoped that the new survey will enable its lines to be traced. It was one of the

three roads which led eastward from Egypt, the other two being the road of the Philistines, which followed the coast line of the Mediterranean from the city of Pelusium at the mouth of the Nile to Gaza ; and the road of the Red Sea, which crossed north of the Peninsula of Sinai, from Suez to the Gulf of Akabah ; the two latter roads are still in use.

The journey of the Israelites, under the leadership of Moses, from Egypt to Canaan may be considered under the following heads :—

1. The crossing of the Red Sea.
2. The journey to Mount Sinai.
3. The halt at Sinai, during which the law was given, and the tabernacle was constructed.
4. The march from Sinai to Kadesh Barnea.
5. The halt of about thirty-eight years in the country round Kadesh Barnea.
6. The march from Kadesh Barnea to Mount Hor, where Aaron died.
7. The march round the east side of Moab into the country of the Amorites, finally ending on the Jordan near Jericho.
8. The passage of the Jordan after the death of Moses.

Of these divisions Nos. 4, 5 and 6 are connected with the district which is now to be surveyed, and possibly some of the difficult points with regard to them will be cleared up.

The descriptions of the march from Sinai to Kadesh Barnea, as given in the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy, are not very easy to follow, but it is clear that, on leaving Sinai, Moses led the people in a north-westerly direction, with the intention of reaching the high road, the way of Shur, which has been already mentioned, and entering the land of Canaan from the south. But the plan was changed, when, after the return of the spies to the camp at Kadesh, the Israelites refused to follow Moses, and, in consequence of their unbelief, the advance to Canaan was delayed for thirty-eight years.

There is but little information in the Bible as to what the Israelites were doing during this period of waiting, but it would appear that they were at Kadesh Barnea at the commencement, and also at the conclusion of it, when Miriam, the sister of Moses, died, and the camp moved on to Mount Hor. The names of the places at which they encamped, as given in Number xxxiii, do not help

much, especially as Kadesh is only mentioned once, and it would seem that they remained in the vicinity of that place until the departure for Mount Hor. Perhaps the new survey may throw some light on the question, and lead to the identification of places mentioned in the Pentateuch, the sites of which are, at present, unknown.

Another point that requires investigation is the line of the southern border of the Promised Land, which is first described in Numbers xxxiv, 3-5, where it is stated:—"Your south border shall be the outmost coast of the Salt Sea eastward. And your border shall turn from the south to the ascent of Akrabbim, and pass on to Zin; and the going forth thereof shall be from the south to Kadesh Barnea, and shall go on to Hazar-addar, and pass on to Azmon. And the border shall fetch a compass from Azmon unto the river of Egypt, and the goings out of it shall be at the sea." Another description of the boundary, in nearly the same words, is given in Joshua xv, 2-4.

Of the places mentioned, there can be no doubt that the outmost coast of the Salt Sea means the south end of the Dead Sea; Kadesh Barnea is probably 'Ain Kades, already mentioned; and then it is certain that the river of Egypt is the great valley, now called Wady el-Arish, which reaches the coast of the Mediterranean, forty-eight miles south-west of Gaza. The other places have not yet been identified. It is evident therefrom that the south border included the district known as the south country in the time of the Patriarchs, and which was at first included in the inheritance of the tribe of Judah, but was afterwards allotted to the tribe of Simeon, see Joshua xix. There are given in Joshua xv, 26-32, and Joshua xix, 2-8, the names of a number of towns situated in the south country, showing that it must then have been fairly populated. Now the towns have disappeared, their sites are unknown, and the only inhabitants are wandering Bedawin tribes, who move about with their flocks from well to well, just as Abraham did in days of old. The question naturally arises as to what is the reason of the change; is it that the rainfall has diminished, as some people think; or is it that the water supply has been neglected, and could, with care, be put right, so as to make the south country fertile again? Prof. Palmer was of opinion that the latter was the case, and he reported the existence of ruins of well-constructed dams, and of terraces, which had evidently been laid out for cultivation.

Another proof that the south country was comparatively fertile in more recent times is, that on the Medeba Mosaic Map of Palestine, which was probably constructed towards the end of the sixth century A.D., there are shown a number of towns in the district, south of Beersheba—towns that have now ceased to exist.

Enough has been said to show the great interest of the proposed survey. The primary duty of the explorers will be to make an accurate map of the district, with its many hills and valleys, and then to record upon the map the position of all ruins of ancient towns, and of other archaeological remains, giving to each the name by which the site is known at present, in the same manner as was done in the case of the previous surveys carried out by the Palestine Exploration Fund. The work will be exploration, not excavation, and we may hope that it will lead to the identification of some, at all events, of the places mentioned in the Bible, and increase our understanding of the history of the Patriarchs and the Israelites.

THE DEAD SEA.

By SIR JOHN GRAY HILL.

IN the October number of the *Q.S.* Dr. Masterman gives a very interesting summary of the variations in the level of this strange lake from 1900 to 1913. As I think I was the first to call attention to the rise of its waters, in my article in the July number 1900, after which the measurements began, and as I watch the north part of the lake from my house on Mount Scopus every spring, and take a great interest in the subject, I should like to add something to what Dr. Masterman says.

It seems to me clear that not only has the Dead Sea risen considerably, on the whole, during the last hundred years, but that that period witnessed great variations in its level.

Irby and Mangles (ed. 1823, p. 459) state that in June, 1818, from the different bearings which they took and mention, they ascertained that the length, including the backwater (apparently at the south end), did not exceed thirty miles, which, if English, is about the length from the north end to the Lisan. The Due de Luynes (see below) says: "Il n'y aurait rien d'improbable à ce

que la mer morte ait en autre fois sa pointe méridionale à la presque île de la Lisan (Vol. 3, p. 257)."

Messrs. Moore and Beck in March, 1837, surveyed a great portion of the shores of the lake in a sailing boat which they brought from Jaffa, but had to abandon their work on account of difficulties. They say: "the length of the sea is much less than is generally supposed" (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1837, Vol. 7, p. 456).

Dr. Robinson, who appears to have made careful observations in 1838, states the length at 39 geographical miles which would be equal to about 44½ miles English, but adds that his own estimate founded on various data was about 50 miles (*Biblical Researches in Palestine*. Murray, 1891, Vol. 2, p. 217).

Lynch who made his survey in 1848 shows the length in his map as 40 miles English.

Van de Velde, who visited the Dead Sea in 1851-2, passed Jebel Usdum from north to south on March 30th, 1852. (Memoir, Original edition, p. 112.) His map shows a length of 46½ miles English.

De Sauley, who made a map in 1856, evidently gives a wrong scale to it at the foot, viz., ½ inch to 5 miles instead of to 10; but, treating the latter as the correct scale, the length comes to 46½ miles.

The account of the Due de Luynes, who passed twenty-one days and nights on the lake in a sailing vessel in March and the first days of April, 1864 (*Voyage à la Mer Morte*, published after his death in 1874 or 1875), says the lake is 40 "milles" (apparently geographical miles = 46 English miles) long, and that length, or little more, is shown on his map.¹ A photograph amongst his illustrations seems to show a strip of shore on the east side, north of the Arnon, which did not exist when I coasted along that side in February, 1897.

The P.E.P. Survey, made in 1878, which is confined to the north part of the lake, and Armstrong's Southern Survey, made about 1883, when combined give the length at 48 miles English.

Dr. G. Adam Smith, in *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, published in 1899 (p. 499), states that the Dead Sea occupies the fifty-three deepest miles of the Jordan valley, but he does not give any authority for this statement.

¹ Probably Van de Velde's map.

M. Berton, who in April, 1838, passed along the shore to the east of Jebel Usdum, going from north to south, speaking apparently of the narrowest part, says: "les montagnes viennent jusqu' au bord de la mer à peine à 80 mètres" (*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1839).

Both Robinson's and Lynch's map show a wide beach to the east of the whole of Jebel Usdum, and so does the map of De Sauley. Holman Hunt's picture of "The Seapegoat," which was painted in 1854, in front of the north end of Jebel Usdum (Preraphaelitism and the *P.R.B.*, Vol. I, p. 473), shows a very wide beach at that spot.

Poole, in 1855 (Report of a Journey in Palestine made in 1855, *Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. XXVI)), after saying that, on November 2nd, he pitched tents in the *Plain* of Usdum, continues: "I walked down to the shore of the Dead Sea . . . Crystallised salt extended 40 yards in width from the water's edge, and the line of drift wood was 70 yards distant. We passed a hole where a camel had fallen through the encrusted sand which was about 60 feet above the present line of the sea." (Was not this part of the Jebel?) "November 5th. We rode to the cave of Usdum. At 10 a.m. we left Usdum and rode along the western shore (apparently to the north). I saw many trees standing in the Dead Sea from some distance from the shore in the bay." (?South bay. Would these be the trees marking the line of the old ford ?)

November 5th. "We left Usdum and passed the cave . . . and rode south until we came to the end of Usdum." He then rode round the south end and came to the south side of the Lisan, and round it on the west side, and beyond, and returned round the south end of the lake to Jebel Usdum.

November 9th. He says, after reaching the north end of that mountain, "The sea had very sensibly receded from the shore since we were there, and I should think had lowered a foot in perpendicular height. We left at 10.15 a.m. and very soon afterwards had to leave the shore as the mountains came down directly into the sea and there was no beach to ride along. We had to travel along a very bad path about 200 feet above the level of the sea." Poole's map, however, seems to show a wide beach the whole way from Usdum to Engedi.

The Due de Luynes visited the cave at Jebel Usdum on foot (Vol. I, p. 93).

Tristram passed east of Jebel Usdum in 1872 (*The Land of Moab*). My wife and I passed east of it in March, 1890, going from north to south, but could not do so going from south to north in March, 1895, or in April, 1897, because the water was up to the cliffs, and we had on both occasions to go to the west of that mountain. Libby and Hoskins could not pass it in March, 1903 (*The Jordan Valley and Petra*, Vol. 2, p. 303). The pictures and accounts given by Père Abel in his "Une Croisière autour de la Mer Morte" show that early in January, 1909, the water was up to the cliffs, but a note at p. 93 states: "En 1907, M. Benzinger a pu chevaucher trois quarts d'heure durant le long du versant oriental du Djebel Usdum en allant du nord au sud." From this I infer that M. Benzinger could not get past the south end of the Jebel. I supposed from *Palestine and its Transformation*, p. 108, that Prof. Huntingdon's party had passed it in May of the same year by the shore; but on communicating with that gentleman he informs me that they passed over the top of Usdum, or back of it, and that it was impossible to go along the shore.

The fact that a ford once existed between the west coast and the Lisan is mentioned by Irby and Mangles, who, in June, 1818, actually saw a caravan partly composed of donkeys, which, owing to their small height, could only have got through very shallow water, proceeding towards the ford (indicated by boughs of trees), and saw it again just after it had passed over (p. 454), and the report of the ford's former existence is mentioned by Robinson, Tristram, and others, but no one seems to have seen an actual use of this ford since the time of Irby and Mangles.¹

Then, at the northern end of the lake, Lynch's map shows a little projecting headland connected with the shore by a peninsula. Van de Velde mentions seeing this peninsula in 1837 on May 4th (p. 712). Poole mentions this promontory and his map shows it. Do Sauley's map shows the headland as an island which was known as Rujm el-Bakhr, the connecting neck having disappeared by 1856, but the water above it was so shallow that De Sauley rode along its ridge to the Rujm (Vol. 2, p. 33). His map also shows a considerable beach to the east of Jebel Usdum. Tyrwhitt Drake's report (P.E.F. *Q.S.*, 1874, p. 188) says: "The causeway which connects

¹ See Mr. Forder's account, *Q.S.*, 1910, pp. 112-114. His guide, when young, had crossed this ford; it is called by the local Arabs "im-gayta"—the short cut.

the Rujm el Bakhr with the mainland has, according to the Arabs, been submerged for twelve or fifteen years.”¹

The Duc de Luynes speaks of the Rujm as “une petite île” (A 931) and his map shows it so. He says: “Elle est unie à la terre par une langue de gravier actuellement submergée sous environ 2 mètres d'eau.” The P.E.F. Survey also shows the Rujm as an island. Robinson’s map on the other hand does not show the Rujm which must, therefore, have been covered in 1838. In an article by Captain Allen, R.N. (*R.G.S.J.*, Vol. 23, p. 166), he says: “From a fact observed by travellers in three consecutive years a salient part of the north shore is sometimes an island and sometimes peninsular, there is some reason for conjecturing that the point of equilibrium (*i.e.*, between the process of evaporation and the supposed rising of the bed of the lake) has been already reached.” But the subsequent rise of the level of the water shows that this was not so. According to Frère Levin’s *Guide Indicateur des Sanctuaires et Lieux Historiques de la Terre Sainte*, the Rujm disappeared in 1892. The contour of the shore at the north end has long ago changed and ceased to resemble that shown in the P.E.F. Survey. It curves to the north instead of to the south. See my article before referred to.

No doubt the rise and fall would affect the length of the lake chiefly at the south end, because the water there is very shallow, and the shore nearly flat. But Lynch’s map shows depths of 1–3 fathoms at the ford and south of it, until near to the south end. He and those engaged with him, however, suffered so much from fever that possibly his soundings were not always correct.

A table of the rainfall in Jerusalem, 1845–1906, a period of 62 years, is given in *Palestine and its Transformation*. It varies from less than 400 millimetres to over 1000, but the changes in the first 31 years very nearly resemble those in the second 31 years. The rainfall, however, in Jerusalem may differ materially from that in the watershed of the Jordan and the Dead Sea.

It seems clear, however, that there has been on the whole a gradual but very considerable rise in the level of the lake during the last hundred years.

Burchard of Mount Sion (*Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, p. 59), who wrote in the thirteenth century, says that the Dead Sea “measures six leagues in width from east to west” (the editor explains that

¹ In April, 1869, I saw the Rujm as an Island.—J.D.O.

Burchard's league means one hour's march on foot). "Its length from north to south, the Saracens told me, was five days' journey. It is always smoking and dark like Hell's chimney," and he places Kerak about midway on the east shore, whereas it is 3,355 feet above the lake to the south-east. At p. 60 he says: "some declare that Jordan does not mix its waters with that Sea, but that they are swallowed up by the earth before they reach it, but Saracens have told me that of a truth it both enters the sea and leaves the same, but shortly after leaving it is swallowed up in the earth."

It is probable from this fantastic account that Burchard never saw the Dead Sea near at hand. There is of course no smoke from it, and when the sky is bright its waters are of a lovely sapphire blue colour, as anyone can see from the Mount of Olives, or anywhere along the same ridge.

Palestine and its Transformation (p. 315) quotes from Clermont-Ganneau a remark of the pilgrim Daniel, a Russian, who visited the Holy Land in 1106-7. After having spoken of the Convent of St. John the Baptist, the Karr al Yahud of our day, and the place where Jesus was baptized in the Jordan, the pilgrim adds:

"The Jordan went to this place but seeing its Creator approach "to receive baptism it left its bed and turned back affrighted.
"Formerly the sea of Sodom extended clear to the place of baptism:
"but to-day it is distant about 4 versts. The sea seeing the Lord
"enter into the midst, the waters of Jordan fled in terror and the
"Jordan drew back as the Prophet says."

This fable does not seem to add anything trustworthy upon the question of the length of the Dead Sea. In what Burchard says there appears to be an echo of this legend.

Apparently no reliance can be placed on the ancient accounts.

About prehistoric times there is of course nothing but scientific opinion to guide one, but that seems to show that the level of the lake was at some period very much higher than now. There appears to be no real evidence upon the subject in historic times previous to the year 1818.

Would it not be worth while for the P.E.F. to ascertain the present length by having bearings taken from some point whence the whole of the Dead Sea can be observed, say from Ras el Feshkah, the pass of 'Ain Jidy, or Massada?

I understand that the motor boat in which Père Abel and his colleagues made this voyage no longer exists, and I know from

experience the difficulties of a voyage in a row-boat on such a stormy piece of water. The extreme heat in all but the winter months throws another great impediment in the way of exploration on the lake or its borders, but would not throw difficulties in the way of observations taken from a great height.

Still there are very cheap motor boats now to be had, and if a proper survey could be made in one the result would be very interesting. The east coast has never been fully surveyed. On both sides of the mouth of the Arnon the red sandstone precipices are very fine, the gorge at the mouth of that river being as grand as anything in Petra. The American Colony of Jerusalem have made a beautiful coloured photograph of it. But no one has succeeded in ascending it to any considerable distance.

Perhaps in view of the recent prospecting for oil on the shores of the lake more will soon be known about its waters and its east shore. Some day I believe the value of its waters, and of the waters of Calirrhoe on the east side, will make it a place of resort in the winter months for curative purposes. I have found the use of the Dead Sea water most invigorating. I get a supply at my house brought in old petroleum tins on donkey back, and use it somewhat diluted for my morning tub.

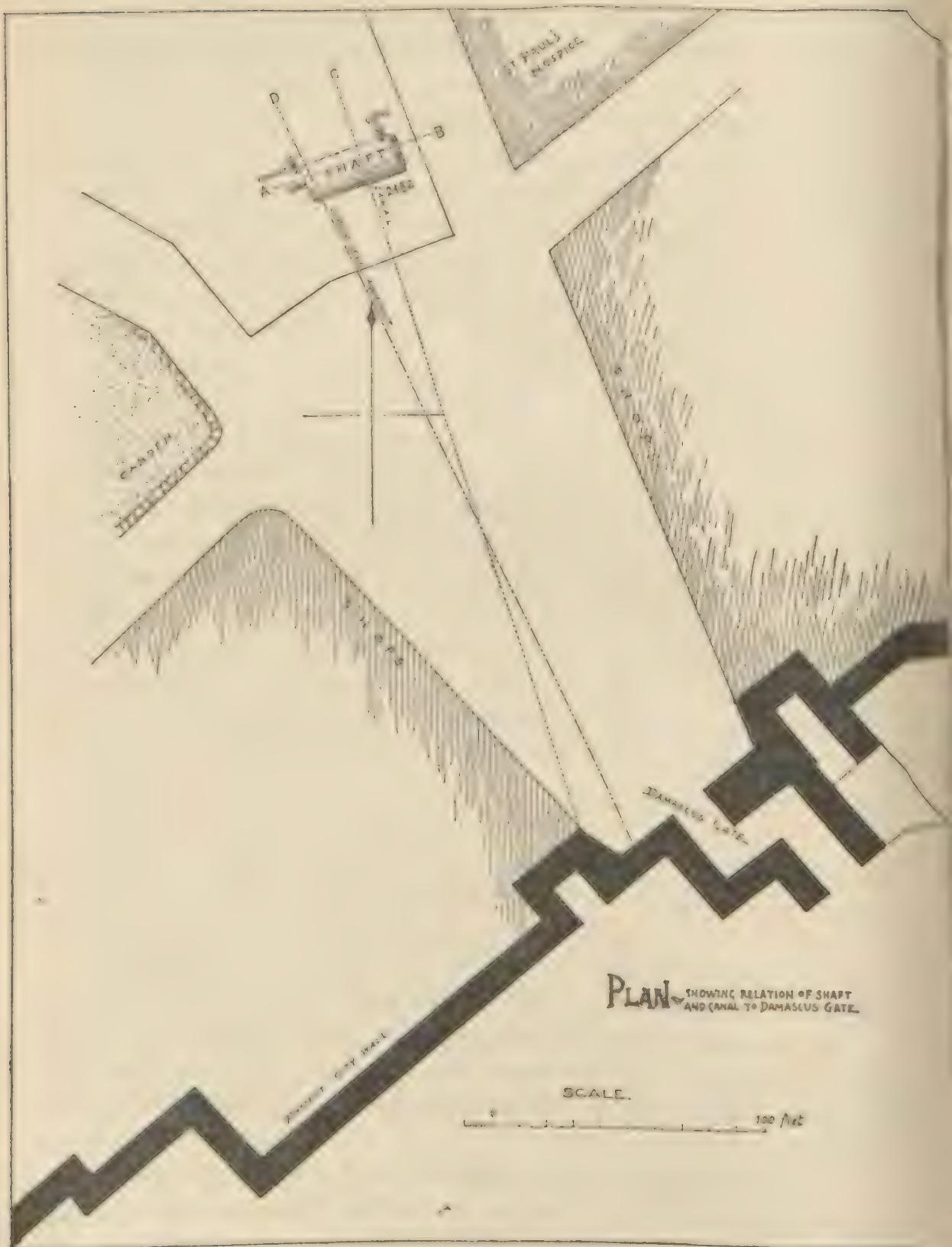
I am indebted to Mr. Crace, the Hon. Secretary of the P.E.F., for reference to several of the authorities above quoted.

THE DAMASCUS GATE, JERUSALEM.

By J. D. CRACE, F.S.A.

SEVERAL questions connected with this gate have been raised during the last few years: some, such as that of its occupying the same position as the gate of Roman times, have already been answered, the Roman gateway having been found at a considerable depth below the present structure.

But other questions were unsolved; as, for example, the actual depth of the original ground below the present roadway; the question whether an extensive northern suburb ever existed beyond the gate; and the question of the course of the water which is known to have entered the city near this point and to have flowed originally down the valley.



Plan—Outside Damascus Gate.

Early in October Sir John Gray Hill reported that the old wooden coffee-house, outside the Damascus Gate, had been pulled down, and that its site would be built upon. As it was known that the upper soil was largely *dbris*, it would be necessary to seek more solid ground below, and thus afford an opportunity of observing the strata and their depths.

Dr. Masterman, being also alive to the possible importance of this opportunity, requested Mr. E. F. Beaumont to examine and report on the work in progress. Mr. Beaumont was permitted to descend the shaft sunk for foundations, and was thus enabled to note several important facts which are shown on his Plan and Section (A-B), now published with his Explanatory Report thereon.

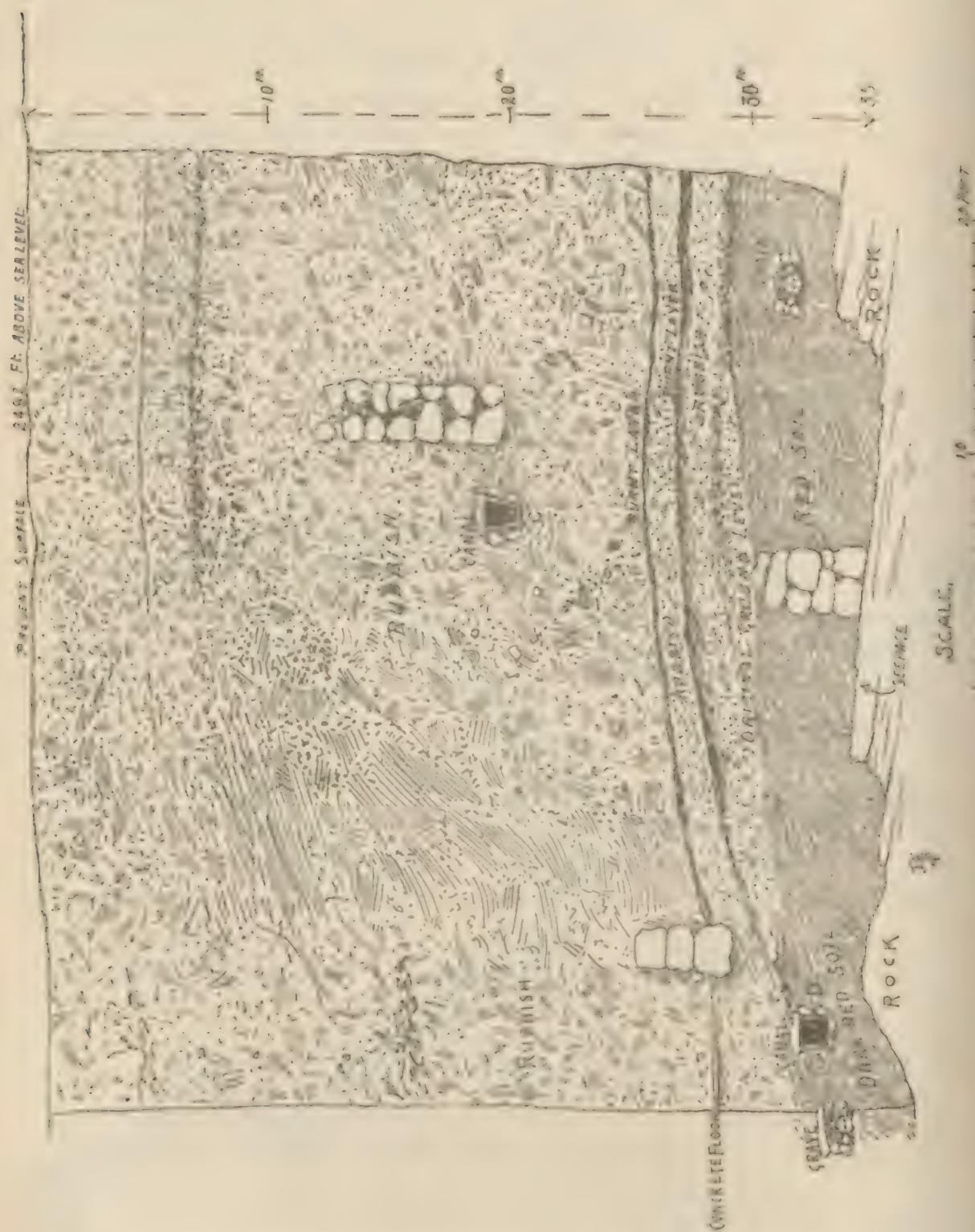
The first important fact is that shafts from surface to rock were sunk to varying depths, and a large proportion of this depth consisted of *dbris*. Samples of the pottery sherds found in different strata of this *dbris* appear to be Roman, but will be submitted to expert opinion.

The small water-channel (C) indicated in Mr. Beaumont's section, seems to show that a part of the stream had been diverted from its natural bed at a point high enough to allow of its being conducted to a high level area in the city. It will be seen also, by the section, that the original bed of the stream, or bottom of the natural valley, has not yet been touched.

At the beginning of November, Mr. Beaumont forwarded a supplementary report in which he says—"Further excavations have disclosed another channel (D), just a foot square and at a considerably lower level than the first. This newly found aqueduct is built in the virgin soil, only $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the soft rock, and about 29 feet below the present surface." (The first aqueduct (C) was 19 feet below the surface and runs south 19° east.) This last found (D) has a direction of south 28° east, and is more substantially built.

"More graves were also found, and in them a few glass tear-bottles of the ordinary 'candlestick' variety. This, I think, would establish that the graves were not Mahomedan but Roman. Mr. Whiting thinks the glass to be late Roman. The bottles were heavily coated with iridescence. It appears that there were no graves for a space of 20 feet (right and left), between the two aqueducts: this might imply the existence of a road through the cemetery."

A concrete floor was cut through about 3 feet above this lower aqueduct. This may represent the road level.



We have thus some new and interesting facts brought to light. A much greater depth of *dbris* than was supposed at this spot.

Two ducts at different levels for the water from the north of the city : known to have existed but lost for many centuries ; and graves, probably Roman, in the original soil next the rock, and presumably extra-mural. It would be unwise to form hasty theories on these facts, but they are obviously important.

THE EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION IN JERUSALEM.
FROM c. A.D. 30.

(Concluded from *Q.S.*, 1913, p. 177.)

Compiled by ARCHDEACON DOWLING, Haifa.

1468-1493. GREGORY III.

The Latins asked for the use of Golgotha, but the Georgians objected.

1505. MARK III.

Under this Patriarch the Church of Palestine continued still in communion with the Roman See, but his name has been excluded from some of the Greek catalogues, and passed over in silence by "Orthodox" historians.

After 1505-1543. DOROTHEUS II (ATALLA).

His name in this Arabic form is mentioned in the Firman of Sultan Selim I, the conqueror of Syria and Egypt, 1517.

The Greek nation became prominent in the Holy Land.

1543-1579. GERMANUS II.

Formerly a monk near the Jordan, and then at Mar Saba. Being an enthusiastic Greek he re-organized the Monastic Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre. The little cupola covering the Holy Sepulchre was restored by this Patriarch.

The Orthodox Native Syrians date their exclusion from the Brotherhood as far back as this Patriarchate.

1579-1608. SOPHRONIUS IV.

He took part in a Synod of Constantinople which denounced the Gregorian Kalendar of 1577.

1608-1644. THEOPHANES III.

He purchased a property at Phanar, which was burnt down in 1649, but rebuilt by Greek merchants of Constantinople, and became for several years the usual residence of several Jerusalem Patriarchs.

The Acts of the Council of Constantinople, 1638, for the purpose of anathematizing the memory of Cyril Lucar, were signed by Theophanes.

1645-1660. PAISIUS.

He was formerly a monk in a convent near the Jordan, and although he belonged to the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre he lived in Moldovlachia.

1660-1669. NECTARIUS.

The Acts of the Council of Jerusalem, 1672, were signed by "Nectarius, formerly Patriarch of Jerusalem."

1669-1707. DOSITHEUS II.

A Cretan.

The organization, under the present rules of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, dates from this Patriarchate.

At the re-consecration of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, March, 1672, Dositheus announced his intention of summoning a Synod. It met in the same year at Jerusalem. Because the summons was issued from Bethlehem, this Synod is still frequently described as the Synod of Bethlehem.

It endeavoured to free Cyril Lucar from the charge of Calvinism brought against him, and to deny the authenticity of the Confession attributed to him.

It is the last important official pronouncement of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

Dositheus published the acts of the Council of Florence in his work: *Tόμος ἀγάπης*, and in his history of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem.

Speaking of the use of meat, Dositheus says that Bishops, being at first elected without being monks, had the right of using or of abstaining from meat, as they chose; but that after it became customary not to be consecrated before taking monastic vows, they were not allowed to eat meat.

1707-1731. CHRYSANTHUS.

At two Councils of Constantinople, 1718 and 1723, Chrysanthus, successor of his uncle Dositheus, took part in the consideration of the twelve proposals of the Scottish and English non-juring Bishops upon the subject of a union between the Orthodox Greeks and the Non-juring British Churches.

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. William Wake), 1725, wrote to Chrysanthus, exposing the nature of the Non-juring schism.

In 1716 Chrysanthus presented the University of Oxford with a manuscript copy of the great work of Adam Zoernikaff on the doctrine of the Procession, in Latin.

1731-1737. MELETIUS.

This Patriarch, although worthy of his high office, suffered severely from the Latins. He came to the Throne from Cæsarea Palestinae.

1737-1766. PARTHENIUS.

He also came from Cæsarea. He not only resolved to have a school in Jerusalem, but founded one.

1766-1771. EPHRAIM II.

This learned Patriarch was an Instructor in Holy Writ.

He had previously resided for many years in Cyprus, where he revised the *History of Kykko*—the wealthiest and best known of all the island monasteries.

1771-1775. SOPHRONIUS V.

A native of Aleppo.

He was previously Metropolitan of Ptolemaïs (Acre). During his Patriarchate the Treaty of Kainardji (Bulgaria) was signed, 1774, and Catherine II secured the right to protect the Greek Religion and its Churches in Turkey.

1775-1787. ABRAHAM II.

When Sophronius was translated to the Ecumenical Throne, he was succeeded by Abraham, who was full of zeal. The finances of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre being at a low ebb, the Patriarch travelled throughout Palestine to raise the necessary funds.

1787-1788. PROCOPIUS I.

This aged Prelate, finding it impossible for him to govern his flock, resigned after an occupancy of one year.

1788-1808. ANTHIMUS.

A native of Mesopotamia.

A learned author of many works. During this Patriarchate the Arab Muslims wrought much evil against the Church.

1808-1827. POLYCARP.

With the assistance of Djezzar Ahmed, Pasha of Acre, this Patriarch was able to suppress the Arabs.

1827-1845. ATHANASIUS V.

He found the finances of "the Brotherhood" exceedingly low, so much so that even the Patriarch was without sufficient food. Gifts, however, fell in from landed properties.

1845-1872. CYRIL II.

Some former Patriarchs of Jerusalem were appointed at Phanar, where they lived. From Kiprianos II and onwards they have been elected in the Holy City, and now remain there. This change of residence brought about a clash between the Patriarch and Synod, a new and awkward feature in the history of the Patriarchs since 1845.

A fine old gentleman of great urbanity of manner—self-possessed and dignified—Cyril was unequalled with regard to his efforts to benefit the Orthodox Community. He reopened the Theological College at the Convent of the Cross in 1858, founded a Patriarchal Printing Press, established numerous Schools, and other philanthropic institutions.

The Synod was now compelled to fight against the disintegrating forces brought about by Russia, who, after the Crimean War, became unfriendly to the Orthodox Greek Church in Palestine, trying to create difficulties through the native Orthodox Christians. This was caused through the determination of France to put an end to Russia's protectorate of the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

During this critical period Cyril was looked upon with suspicion by the Synod. It now became simply a question of time for the final clash to take place.

It is surprising how so good a man as Cyril could have allowed himself to be dragged into collision with the Ecumenical

Patriarch Anthimus VI in 1872. During that year a Synod was summoned in Constantinople in connection with the Bulgarian Schism. The Bulgars began by setting up as their chief an Exarch, reviving an old title, and declared themselves autocephalous. The answer of the Constantinople Synod brought about the solemn excommunication of the Bulgarian Church. Cyril's action was unfortunate, since he had previously condemned the Bulgarians in his numerous letters to the Oecumenical Patriarch, and even went to Phanar to attend the Synod. When there, the Russian Ambassador, Count Ignatiiff, succeeded in inducing the aged prelate to return to Jerusalem in order to welcome the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia, threatening him that if he signed the Decree of the Schism, the valuable properties of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre in Bessarabia (a province in the extreme southwest of European Russia) would be seized by the Russian Government. The good old Patriarch therefore returned to Jerusalem, not even leaving one representative at Phanar, and soon found that his own Synod was determined to unite with Alexandria, Antioch, and Athens in confirming the sentence of excommunication.

Owing to the failure of Cyril to sign the resolution of the Jerusalem Synod, he was deposed in 1872.

The late Reverend George Williams dedicated (with permission) *The Orthodox Church in the East in the Eighteenth Century*, being the correspondence between the Eastern Patriarchs and the Non-juring bishops, to Cyril II. London: Rivingtons, 1868.

In May, 1848, “[†] Cyril, by the Mercy of GOD, Patriarch of Jerusalem and All Palestine, a beloved brother in CHRIST our GOD, and Suppliant,” signed the Encyclical Epistle of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church to the Faithful everywhere, being reply to the Epistle of Pius IX to the Easterns.

Again in 1870, Cyril joined with the other Orthodox prelates in signing the *Reply of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Orthodox Church of the East to the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on Re-union.*

Cyril summoned a Synod in 1867 which declared that “the Great Church” of Constantinople had no authority to interfere with the Convent troubles at Mount Sinai.

1872-1875. PROCOPIUS II.

The Russians forced him to resign in 1875, after a feeble administration.

When Cyril II entered into Rest, Heirotheus was elected Patriarch.

1875-1882. HEIROTHEUS.

The Rules of "the Brotherhood," which they failed to pass during the Patriarchate of Cyril II, were now adopted. Heirotheus re-established the Theological School of the Convent of the Holy Cross.

As in the case of Procopius, Heirotheus was opposed by the Russian Government.

1883-1890. NICODEMUS.

He abolished the Metropolitan See of Bethlehem, and resigned in 1890.

This prelate was a cultivated man of gracious bearing and good scholarship, but his Greek blood made him *persona non grata* to the Orthodox natives.

1891-1897. GERASIMUS.

When Titular Metropolitan of Seythopolis, he took part in the "Treaty of Berlin," A.D. 1878. In 1885 he became Patriarch of Antioch, and was translated to the Jerusalem Throne in 1891.

At Damascus, as well as in Jerusalem, he interested himself in education, particularly in connection with the theological Seminary in the Convent of the Cross, which he re-opened in 1893 for fifty students.

1897- . DAMIANUS.

The present occupant of the Throne is considered by the Greeks to be the 135th Patriarch.

During 1896, Damianus was officially present, as Titular Archbishop of Philadelphia (Rabbath Ammon) at the Coronation of Nicholas II.

APPENDIX.

ADDITIONAL BISHOPS AND PATRIARCHS

Recorded by the late Reverend George Williams, *The Holy City*, Vol. I, p. 488, from Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, Tom. III, and the late Canon E. Venables in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography* (Smith and Wace).

I.—AN EARLY HEBREW BISHOP.

Mr. C. H. Turner, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. I, No. 4, July, 1900, Table II, p. 544, No. 13, inserts the name of Vaphris, after Leuis, c. A.D. 119, following:—

1. George Syncellus, of Constantinople, c. A.D. 800;
2. St. Nicephorus I, Patriarch of Constantinople, c. A.D. 806–815;
3. The Anonymous (Greek), A.D. 853; and
4. Eutychius, XLVIth Patriarch of Alexandria (Arabic), A.D. 937.

II.—GENTILE BISHOPS.

*Eutychius.*¹

? 349. *Erennius* (Herennius, Irenaeus).

An intruding prelate, after the deposition of Cyril. Cyril was thrust into the See of his great namesake during his deposition, in succession to Erennius.

c. 376. *Hilarius* (Hilarion).

Was intruded through Arian influence, after the expulsion of Cyril.

c. 450. *Theodosius*.

A fanatical Monophysite monk intruded into the See immediately after the Council of Chalcedon.

III.—PATRIARCHS.

762. *Theodore*.

An ambitious monk, invaded the See and secured the deposition of Elias II.

c. 772. *Eusebius* (?), supposed Patriarch, mentioned in Hugo's *Life of Magdalveus*.

Le Quien places him between Theodore I and Elias II.

¹ Williams inserts the heretical Bishops in italics.

C. 980. Alexander II.

C. 1020. Arsenius.

Eucherius I (?).

Macharius (?).

James II.

C. 1146. Arsenius II.

C. 1200. Theophanes I.

Gabriel Brula.

C. 1332. Gerasimus I.

He was uncanonically substituted in the place of Lazarus, but was ejected. When carrying a fresh complaint to Constantinople against Lazarus, he died on his journey.

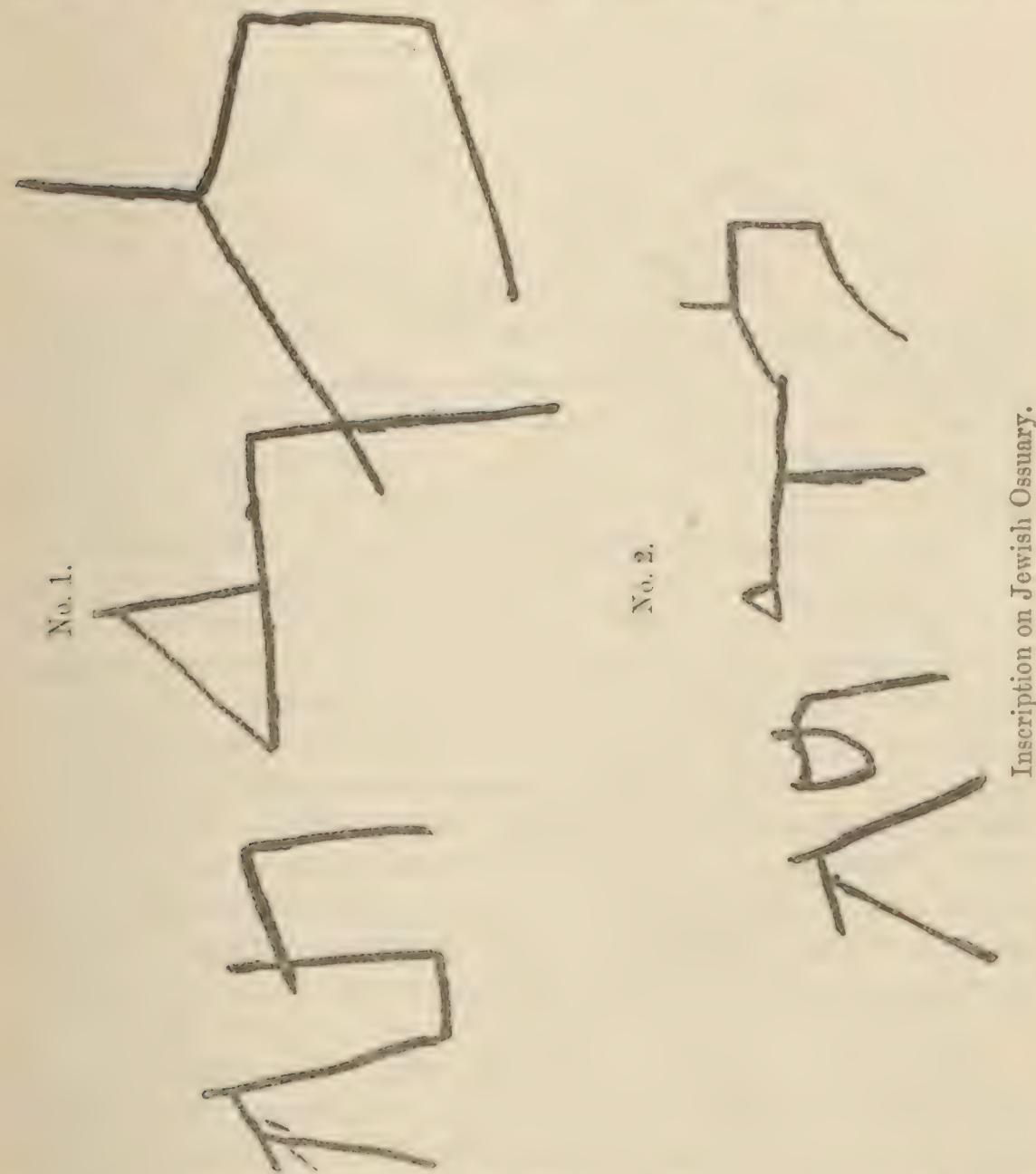
AN INSCRIBED JEWISH OSSUARY: A CORRECTION.

By PROF. G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

In the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1913 (pp. 84 sq.), Dr. Lidzbarski discusses the inscription on a Jewish ossuary. His notes were based on a photograph. Squeezes, one taken by Sir John Gray Hill and the other by Dr. Masterman, have now been placed in my hands. The drawings here given represent the actual size of the letters (p. 11). These drawings, when compared with those given in Dr. Lidzbarski's note, bring out two important points: (a) the marked difference in size between the letters of the two words; (b) the presence of a stroke proceeding from the uppermost angle of the first letter of No. 1. This stroke shewed merely as a fine line in Dr. Lidzbarski's photograph, and was, therefore, judged by him not to belong to the writing. On the squeezes this line is as deep as the others; it must therefore be considered original, consequently the letter is מ, not ב, and the word is מִרְתָּה, not בָּרְתָּה. This being so, Dr. Lidzbarski's suggestion that the ossuary contained the bones of a man named מִדְיָה (No. 2) and his daughter בָּרְתָּה (No. 1) falls to the ground.

But did the ossuary contain the bones, if not of a man and his daughter, yet of two persons? The answer turns on whether

(1) and (2) contain the same name written twice, as Dr. Spoer holds, or two different names. If Dr. Lidzbarski's reading of No. 2 as **מִדְרֵה** is correct, we have to do with two names. Dr. Lidzbarski very reasonably suggests that the second letter in No. 2 is a very doubtful **ר** and the third, as seen by him, an equally doubtful **ת**.



Inscription on Jewish Ossuary.

But (a) with the horizontal stroke across the top of the loop, which appears in the squeeze but was not recognizable in the photograph, the third letter is as little like **ר** as **ת**; and (b) with the first letter of No. 1 correctly read, No. 1 and No. 2, in spite of differences, look suspiciously like different attempts to write the same word. I

conclude then that No. 2 is a faulty cutting of the same name that is cut more correctly and in larger letters in No. 1. The ossuary contained the bones of a single person—a woman; but whether her name was "Martha" is subject to doubt on the grounds brought forward by Dr. Lidzbarski.

THE SITE OF GIBEAH.

By THE REV. W. F. BIRCH.

In May, 1897, a slip (or hoax) in the *Times* over two Keraks made a steamboat run from Jordan-Jericho to the Sea of Galilee (some 200 miles with windings) in five hours. Dr. Masterman timely pointed out the blunder, and I was glad to follow him. As he has now put his hand to the Gibeah puzzle, I expect that he will run that city (or village) to earth on the west side of Wady ed-Dumm. On certain points we differ, *e.g.*, (1) he thinks this valley ("Valley of Blood") only gets its name from the red-brown soil over which the water flows. But if "the Field of Blood" at Jerusalem could establish its name (see Matthew, Acts) from the death of one man, surely (wherever Gibeah may have been) the slaughter of 26,000 Benjamites or 66,000 Israelites might give an adjacent valley an abiding name to this day. Why not say "*must* have given"? (2) In *Q.S.*, 1883, p. 158, I placed "Gibeah of Saul" within a mile of Kh. Adaseh, the only name I could give to that area in which occur, in 1 Sam. x, the terms, the hill (Gibeah) of God, the city, the high place, evidently not convertible terms, but places near to one another.

The actual summit (*i.e.*, of Adaseh) is (Dr. Masterman observes) "too *small* for a city . . . the lower ground too *extensive* for a *fortified* site," but, so far as I see, the Bible says nothing about Gibeah being large, small, or fortified. I was glad to see that Dr. Masterman had another Kh. Adaseh offered to him, showing that it is a not uncommon name. In Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1909), under "Gibeah," Mr. Ewing observes "It is necessary to note carefully where the word means hill, and where it is the name of a city."

One now comes to the one really weighty objection (which clinches the question) that no Israelite pottery (within the mile area above) has been found (but surely sherds may be found wherever pots are broken), and nothing to testify to the existence of an Israelite city or village has been lighted upon. I believe this is true, and all the explorers have rightly laid very great stress on this point. As sherds are so popular in Canaan, I should cheerfully say, "No sherds, no Gibeah"; but they must be looked for.

Two years ago on closer search I found to my amazement that the Hebrew Bible, the LXX, and the Revisers in 1884 with one voice said (as to the travellers going north to Shiloh by the road from Jerusalem, Judg. xix, 14), "the sun went down upon them near to Gibeah" (a more literal translation would be, "for them by the side of Gibeah"). This seemed to me to settle the question that Gibeah (like the sun) must have been west of them, and therefore could not possibly have been at Tel el-Ful, towards the east, *i.e.*, on their right. In this verse by the use of misleading italics ("the sun went down upon them *when they were* by Gibeah"), the Authorized Version ignored the declared position of the *sun* (of course in the west) as being by the side of Gibeah; or, in other words, while the Bible said the sun was by the side of Gibeah, the Authorized Version said the *travellers* themselves were by Gibeah. Topographically this has proved a most unfortunate liberty in translation from Robinson's day to the present time. Over this outrage I must declare war against even my friends.

Happily, I found a Professor to help me. Let me first assume that the travellers had reached the Gate (see *map*, Q.S., 1911, p. 102) at sunset. Assuming this position I ask where would the sun set some four or five months previous to the dance near the vineyards (Judg. xx, 47; xxi, 21), *i.e.*, early in May? Prof. Lamb writes (July 14th, 1913): "Taking the latitude of Jerusalem at $31^{\circ} 47'$, the sun at midsummer would get about 28° N. of W. This does not allow for refraction, which would make it slightly more to the N." It would seem from this that not even at midsummer would the sun get as far as Kh. Adaseh as seen on the horizon from "The Gate."

Again, on August 9th, 1913, Dr. Masterman wrote: "I believe the question you want about the sunset and 'The overhanging Gate' is simply whether the sun sets directly behind the hill Kh. Adaseh, when one stands at 'The Gate.' It happened I passed the spot a few days ago shortly before sunset and noticed that the sun would

not be directly behind, but to the south; but I imagine this is simply a question of the *season*, and in some months, I daresay, it would be directly behind the hill I went to Kh. Adaseh with no prejudice against your view—rather the reverse. I find this site an impossible one for an Old Testament town."

As the above letters show nothing militating against the simple words of Judg. xix, 14, it only remains to search for Israelite sherds (and ruins?) south of "the way of the wilderness of Gibeon." I admit that it is impossible for Kh. Adaseh to have been the *city* Gibeath, although it was the summit of the hill (Gibeath) of Rizpah, of Gibeath Ammih (the mother-city), and the high-place, of or near Gibeath, where Saul prophesied and slew priests.

In *Enc. Bibl.* (under "Gibeath") it is said that the text of verse 24 "is in great disorder," and the question is asked, "how was it that the pursuers go no further than the district of Gibeon by sunset?" In Q.S., 1913, p. 41, instead of disorder: (1) the names wonderfully agree with the positions in the map; (2) it is not said when the retreat began; (3) nor would Joab, who knew when to hold back his men (2 Sam. xviii, 16), care to sacrifice even one more of his soldiers, to smite eighteen more of Abner's citizens. The rapid pursuit is a mere fancy of Josephus.

If the supporters of Tel el-Ful wish to identify it with Gibeath Ammih, it is for them to show why Abner should retreat about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles southward, instead of hastening eastward toward the Jordan.

Perhaps visitors, in 1914, will further aid the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund by looking for sherds on the ridge of Gibeath, close to which the sun set for the travellers in the time of Phinehas. It is just possible one may there find a Roman coin dropped by Paula.

A NEW INSCRIPTION CONCERNING THE JEWS
IN EGYPT.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

SIGNOR Dr. E. Breccia, Director of the Alexandrian Museum, has forwarded to me a report of the acquisitions made for the Collection during 1912, and among these is a Greek inscription of much importance for the history of the Jewish residents in the Delta in Ptolemaic times.

The text is engraved upon a block of marble, and gives eight lines of complete writing. It came from some ruins contained in a mound near to Alexandria, known as Kom el-Akhdar, and the Greek runs as follows :—

Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς
καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικὸς οἱ ἀπὸ Ξενεφύρεως
Ιουδαῖοι τὸν πυλῶνα τῆς προσευχῆς προστάντων Θεοδώρου καὶ
Ἀχιλλίορες.

“ In honour of the King Ptolemy and of the Queen Cleopatra,
“ his sister; and of the Queen Cleopatra, his wife, the Jews
“ of Xenephyris (have consecrated) the portal of the
“ Synagogue, the presidents being Theodorus and Achillion.”

The most interesting information rendered by this inscription is in giving a new site as that of a Hebrew settlement and synagogue, in Lower Egypt, at the town of Xenephyris, a place which Stephen of Byzantium tells us was a minor city of Libya, near to Alexandria, meaning probably to the west of that metropolis.

This adds one more to the Israelite communities in Ptolemaic Lower Egypt of which previously only six were known. Of these, papyri and inscriptions, in recent years, have revealed to us *εργαστηρία* at Schedia, Athribis, and Arsinoë, in the Fayoum; and of course at Alexandria. Then there was one whose name and site are unknown, to which M. A. Bouché Leclercq, following Herr Strack, says that Euergetes II granted the right of asylum,¹ and finally

¹ *Histoire des Lagides*, III, 170, note 2.

Oxyrhynchus, which probably possessed a Jewish quarter in pre-Roman times, because in A.D. 83 a papyrus from there speaks of *οἱ ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύγχου πόλεως Ἰουδαῖοι*, and also indicates a quarter of the city as being dwelt in by Jews, so they must have been there for some considerable period.¹

The monarch Herr Strack refers to is the one we find in this Xenphyris inscription, and it therefore becomes highly probable that it was the very building for which this text was graven, to which Euergetes II gave the *ἰερεία*; for that the king is Ptolemy Physcon is certain, for his two consorts, his sister, Cleopatra II, and niece, Cleopatra III, are mentioned.

Their names are of assistance in determining the date of the text because Euergetes II married his niece in 143 B.C., and as no allusion is made to his son by her, the inscription probably dates from nearer to 143 B.C. than to 117 B.C. the only period wherein it can be assigned.²

JEWISH NOTES.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

The following newly-discovered inscriptions, relating to the Jews residing in Rome, have been edited by M. Müller, of Vienna, in a pamphlet entitled "Die Jüdische Katacombe am Monteverde," and also published in *Wiener Studien*, 1912, pp. 359-369, with a commentary upon the titles given to nine synagogues in the texts (E. Bormann).

1. Names of these synagogues:—

Λύγυστήσιοι, Ἀγωπήσιοι, Βολουρίσιοι, καρπήσιοι, Σιβορίσιοι,
καλκαρήσιοι, βερνάκλοι (or βερνακλήσιοι), Ἐβρέοι, ἐλαίας.

¹ Oxyrhynchus Papyrus No. 335. See also the manumission of a slave paid for by Jews of the Synagogue in A.D. 291; a document which mentions the yet unidentified *Βουλευτοῦ Ὀνειτῶν*, said in the papyrus to be in Palestine. (Oxyrhynchus Papyrus No. 1205.)

² For Jews in Egypt see "Hibeh Papyrus," No. 96, of 250 B.C., and the Magdala Papyri, No. 3, and an Essay by Dr. Mahaffy in *Mélanges Nicolle*, 1905.

2. Sepulchral text:—

L(ucio) Maecio L(uci) Constantio et | Maeciae L(uci)
 Lucianidi e(t) L(ucio) Maecio Victorino e(t) L (or I)
 Maeciae Sabbatidi filis et Iul(iae) Alexandriæ
 coniugi fecit b(ene) m(erentibus) L(ucius)
 Maecius I archon, s (?) alti ordinis.

3. An interesting Latin inscription, because in line 10 are allusions to such Jewish tenets as "amor generis" and "observantia legis" and in lines 5 and 8 evidences of Christian beliefs such as the Resurrection and Paradise ("venerandum rus"), is as follows:—

"Hie Regina sita est tali coniecta sepulchro,
 quod coniunx statuit respondens eius amori.
 Haec post bis denos secum transegerat annum
 et quartum mensem restantibus octo diebus,
 rursum uictura, redditura ad lumina rursum.
 Nam sperare potest ideo quod surgat in aeuom
 promissum quae uera fides dignisque piisque:
 quae meruit sedem uenerandi ruris habere.
 Hoc tibi praestiterit pietas, hoc vita pudica,
 hoc et amor generis, hoc obseruantia legis,
 coniugii meritum, cuius tibi gloria curae.
 Horum factorum tibi sunt speranda futura
 de quibus et coniunx maestus solacia quaerit."

As a supplement to these, an inscription concerning a Jewish synagogue found at Castel Porziano, in Latium, some few years ago, may be recorded. The version of the text is that of MM. Cagnat and Besnier:—

universitas · IVDEORVM ·
 in · col · ost commorANTIVM · QVI COMPARA
 verunt ex conlatiONE · LOCVM · C · IVLIO · IVSTO
 gerusiarchae ad mVNIMENTVM · STRVENDVM ·
 donavit rogantibVS · LVCIO · DIONYSIO PATRE · ET
 NO · GERVSIARCHE · ET · ANTONIO
 dia bIV · ANNO · IPSORVM CONSENT(iente) GER
 usia · e · iuli iustVS · GERVSIARCHES · FECIT · SIBI
 et coniugi SVAE · LIB · LIB · POSTERISQVE · EORVM ·
 in fronte · p · XVIII · in · AGRO · p · XVII

In line 5, patre (synagogue).

Line 7, diab(iu) is a title of a third synagogue dignitary, lower than the pater and the gerousiarchs.

RAINFALL AT JAFFA, 1912-1913.

TABLE showing the amount of rain which fell in Jaffa during the winter season (1912-13) as compared with the one before it (1911-12).

From Observations taken by the Rev. J. JAMAL, A.S.G., Jaffa.

	Inches.		Inches.
Oct., 1912 ...	... 3.90 in	7 days against 2.12 in 1911.	
Nov., 1912 ...	... 4.70 „	10 „ „ „ 5.52 „	
Dec., 1912 ...	... 5.75 „	14 „ „ „ 12.50 „	
Jan., 1913 ...	... 5.65 „	15 „ „ „ 4.60 in 1912.	
Feb., 1913 ...	... 4.10 „	11 „ „ „ 3.60 „	
March, 1913 ...	... 1.80 „	5 „ „ „ 0.82 „	
April, 1913 ...	... 0.55 „	3 „ „ „ 0.05 „	
May, 1913 ...	... Dry		... 0.55 „
Total amount ..	.. 26.45 in	65 „ ..	.. 29.76 in 51 days.

Remarks :—

The first rainy day in the season, October 16th, 1912.

The last rainy day in the season, April 24th, 1913.

Duration of the rainy season, 191 days.

Number of rainy days during the season, 65.

Number of dry days during the season, 126.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of this Society will be held on Tuesday, June 16th, at 3.30 p.m., in the Lecture-room of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly (by kind permission of the Council). The Chair will be taken by the Right Honourable the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, F.S.A.

For cards of admission application may be made to the Secretary, at 2, Hinde Street, W., on any day after May 4th.

NOTES AND NEWS.

En Memoriam
SAMUEL ROLLES DRIVER, D.D.

(Born 2nd October, 1846—Died 26th February, 1914.)

CHRISTIAN DAVID GINSBURG, LL.D.

(Born 25th December, 1831—Died 7th March, 1914.)

IT is with very deep regret that the Palestine Exploration Fund has to record the death of two most valued friends and helpers. Among the many distinguished names on the General Committee of the Fund, none more thoroughly represented Biblical scholarship

of the highest order than that of the Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christchurch, Oxford; and none, perhaps, better appreciated the work of this Society, which he followed with close interest, and which no one was better qualified to turn to valuable account.

To quote from an excellent obituary notice which appeared in *The Times* on the day after Canon Driver's death: "He was an example of the best type of Hebrew scholarship in England--learned, truth-loving, diligent, always more anxious to state facts fairly than to provide theories about them." In him all earnest students of the Old Testament suffer a loss which can best be estimated by reference to his numerous works on Hebrew philology, Old Testament, and Biblical Archaeology.

The second death is that of an old colleague of Canon Driver. Dr. Ginsburg had for long been a member of the Executive Committee of the Fund. Born at Warsaw, he came to England and soon devoted himself to literary work. His zeal turned more and more towards Massoretic studies, and his great work in this field made him famous among Hebraists. With Canon Driver he was a member of the Committee appointed for the revision of the Old Testament. In 1894 he published his elaborate "Massoretico-critical" edition of the Hebrew Bible, with a full "Introduction." For his second edition of the Text he used no fewer than twenty-two printed editions and seventy-four MSS., the collating of which was a gigantic task in itself. He collected old Bibles in various languages--his series of old German printed Bibles being especially interesting. As an example of his wide tastes, it may be mentioned that he formed a very fine and beautifully arranged collection of early prints and engravings.

Letters have been received from Captain Newcombe, and from Mr. Woolley since the article by the latter arrived, bringing information about the survey down to the latter half of February.

The party had divided so as to gather information over as large an area as practicable in the limited time available. Captain Newcombe had met with some little opposition from local officials, who were "without instructions," in the southern part of the district; otherwise their difficulties have been chiefly connected with transport of supplies for men and animals.

The facts collected seem to show that, of stone-built structures - with the exception of a few small forts dating back to the second millennium B.C. - there are no traces earlier than Byzantine. Early flint implements and fragments of pottery, of early date, have been found, and samples of both have been sent home for comparison. These, of course, indicate human occupation of some sort; but the archaeologists seem to be inclining to the opinion that what we read of as "cities" may have been rather aggregations of tents, and that until a careful system of water-storage was undertaken, as it was in the Byzantine period, inhabitants must have been few, and those without fixed residence; for while, at times, the wadies were suddenly flooded by storm-water, there were frequently long periods of total drought. Mr. Woolley has now returned to his work at Carchemish.

Another volume has appeared of the great work on Jerusalem, by the well-known Dominican archaeologist, Father Hugues Vincent, of Jerusalem. A brief notice of the first instalment was given in the *Q.S.* of January, 1913, p. 2. We now have a portion of the second part: *Jerusalem Nouvelle*. In this Father Vincent is associated with Father Abel, and a preface is contributed by the famous archaeologist and epigraphist, the Marquis of Vögué. There are two fascicules, entitled: *Aelia Capitolina, le Saint-Sépulcre et le Mont des Oliviers*. They run to over 400 pages of double columns, with 160 illustrations; besides this, there is an accompanying volume of 43 plates and plans. The subject is dealt with most exhaustively, and the necessary texts, critical notes, and all subsidiary matter are arranged so as not to impede the ordinary reader, who will find the descriptions and arguments admirably clear and intelligible. The whole is a splendid example of French archaeological and historical research.

We have received the first part of a new quarterly journal devoted to Egyptological studies. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* is published by the Egypt Exploration Fund, 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. (6s. nett, or 21s. per annum for members and subscribers). The present number contains an excellent series of articles, some of them illustrated, by such well-known names as Ed. Naville, D. G. Hogarth, Sayce, Hall, Alan Gardiner, Flinders

Petrie, and others. To mention only three: Dr. Hogarth contributes a paper of historical interest on the Egyptian empire in Asia—a sound combination of archaeological and historical criticism; Dr. Alan Gardiner describes various new literary works from ancient Egypt; and Mr. Gaselee gives a careful bibliography of the literature of 1912-13 relating to Christian Egypt. We welcome this indication of increasing interest in Oriental studies, and wish the journal success.

Archdeacon Dowling has been advised to revise, enlarge, and publish in a permanent form his articles on "The Episcopal Succession in Jerusalem," which appeared in the *Q.S.* of October, 1913, and January, 1914. He has lately obtained additional information, and is anxious to make his *Notitia* more correct and complete. He is open to suggestions for the enrichment of this proposed pamphlet. His address is, St. Luke's Mission, Haifa-under-Mount Carmel, Palestine.

The Library contains about 200 duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley, and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with prices, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shophelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5s.; unbound, 3s. 6d.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries. The Rev. G. H. Lancaster, M.A., F.R.A.S., has kindly undertaken to act for Brondesbury both as an Hon. Secretary and as a Lecturer on behalf of the Fund.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3s. Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5s.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6s. 9d. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10s. 6d. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions early in the year, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1913 is given in the Annual Report published with this number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6s., by post 6s. 4d.

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6s. The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary General Secretary for Palestine, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, will give all information necessary.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. XXXVI, Part 1 :
Review of Naville's *Archaeology of the Old Testament* ; etc.

The London Quarterly Review, Jan., 1914.

Studies : An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy and Science (Dec., 1913).

The Irish Theological Quarterly, Jan., 1914.

The Anglo-Jewish Association, Forty-second Annual Report, 1913.

University of Liverpool ; Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1914 : Hittite Burial Customs, by C. Leonard Woolley ; etc.

The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. I, Part I, Jan., 1914 ; published by the Egypt Exploration Fund. See p. 51.

Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions, Div. IV : Semitic Inscriptions, Sect. A, Nabataean Inscriptions, by Prof. Enno Littmann.

The American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XVII, 4.

The Biblical World, Jan., 1914.

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, Vol. XXXV, 4.

The American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXXIV, 4.

Records of the Past, Vol. XII, Pt. 4 ; XIII, Pt. 1.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. IV, No. 3, the So-called Leprosy Laws, by Prof. Jastrow.

Jérusalem, Recherches de Topographie, d'Archéologie, et d'Histoire, t. II. Jérusalem nouvelle, par les PP. Hugues Vincent et F.-M. Abel ; préface par M. le Marquis de Vogüé. Fascic. I and II. See p. 51.

Revue Biblique, Jan., 1914 : The Language of Canaan, by R. P. Dhorme ; The House of Caiaphas and the Church of St. Peter at Jerusalem (with plans), by R. P. J. Germer-Durand ; Some Ancient Representations of the Constantine St. Sepulchre, by R. P. H. Vincent ; Epigraphical Notes, by F.-M. Abel and R. Savignac.

Archives Sociologiques, Bulletin 24, Jan., 1913 ; Chronique du Mouvement Scientifique ; published by l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay.

Sphinx, Vol. XVII, fasc. VI.

Echos d'Orient, Jan.-Feb., 1914.

ХРИСТИАНСКІЙ ВОСТОКЪ, II, 2, 1913.

Al-Mashriq: Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle, Dec., 1913; Rabbath Ammon or 'Ammān, by the Abbé P. Salman; A Visit to Méadi 'I Khabīri, by Mr. N. A. Nader, etc.

Jerusalem: Jahrbuch zur Förderung einer wissenschaftlich genauen Kenntniss des jetzigen und des alten Palästina; ed. by A. M. Luncz, Vol. X. (In Hebrew.)

Litterarischer Palästina Almanach for 5674 (1913-14), by A. M. Luncz.

See also below, pp. 90 *sqq.*

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire specially to acknowledge with thanks the following valuable contributions to the Library:—

From Prof. Wm. Libbey:—

The Jordan Valley and Petra, by William Libbey, Sc.D., and F. E. Hoskins, D.D. 2 Vols., 1905.

From Mrs. Ross Scott:—

The History of the Jews from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Present Time, by Hannah Adams.

Egypt, Palestine and Phoenicia, by Felix Bovet.

Egypt: Descriptive, Historical and Picturesque, 2 vols., by G. Ebers.

The Jerusalem Bishopric, by the Rev. Prof. W. H. Hechler.

The Latest Light on Bible Lands, by P. S. P. Handcock, M.A.

A Winter on the Nile, by the Rev. Charles D. Bell, D.D.

Algiers, the Sahara and the Nile, by Rachel Humphreys.

Earthly Footsteps of the Man of Galilee, 2 vols., by Bishop John H. Vincent, D.D., LL.D., Rev. James W. Lee, D.D., and R. E. M. Bain.

Four Months in a Dahabéeh, by M. L. M. Carey.

Under the Palms in Algeria and Tunis, 2 vols., by the Hon. Lewis Wingfield.

Sinai and Palestine in Connection with their History, by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., F.R.S.

Nineveh and its Palaces, by Joseph Bonomi, F.R.S.L.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books:—

Due de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten*. (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Petrée* (1829).

Prof. E. Huntingdon, *Palestine and its Transformation*. (Constable and Co.)

Père Abel, *Une Croisière autour de la Mer Morte* (1909).

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of £
to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the
said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer
of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE DESERT OF THE WANDERINGS.

REPORT OF THE SURVEY BY THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY.

On January 7th, Mr. T. E. Lawrence and I left Gaza to join the Palestine Exploration Fund's Survey of the Desert of the Wanderings, and on the same afternoon we arrived at Beersheba, where we were to meet Captain Newcombe, R.E., the director of the Expedition. As our stay in the country was to be a short one it seemed advisable to visit first the places that were known to be of interest and importance, and later, when more progress had been made with the geographical survey, to follow up any information that the surveyors might acquire regarding archaeological sites hitherto unrecorded. Up to the present time, therefore, Mr. Lawrence and myself have remained together, following practically in the footsteps of Palmer, and visiting the southern cities of Khalassu, Sebaita, Rehaibeh, and el-Angu; then, after a careful study of the neighbourhood of 'Ain Kadis, a neighbourhood which must be of paramount importance for the history of the Exodus, we propose to separate, Mr. Lawrence going south with Captain Newcombe to examine the sites of Ezion Geber and Elath, while I search the country immediately south of a line drawn from Beersheba to the Dead Sea.

That which most strikes the visitor in this barren country of limestone hills and flint-strewn slopes is the amazing industry of the Byzantines. About the end of the third century after Christ towns and villages had sprung up all over the waste, along the lines of the main roads; every valley was under cultivation, every little wady was terraced with stone walls that retained the scanty soil and broke the force of the floods that occasionally swept down them; the bare hill-sides were planted with grape-vines, and oil-presses everywhere show that olive-yards once flourished along the

lower foothills. Mile long hedges of stunted terebinth still shew through the sand hills that now stretch north and west of Khalassa, and tiny hamlets and scattered farms crown almost every outcrop of more barren soil. We are not to suppose that previous to the Arab conquests which destroyed these southern cities there was a greater rainfall to make agriculture more easy; agriculture was then only possible because every drop of water was carefully conserved. Catchments run along the hill-sides and lead the rainwater to cisterns and water pits excavated in the limestone or dug in the soil and walled about with masonry; the floods that occasionally sweep the wadies were then utilised, whereas they would now bring destruction if there were anything to destroy; every house had its reservoir and a whole town could exist on stored water, independent of any permanent spring. Indeed, it is difficult in this country to find any remains that are not Byzantine. Before all this labour was spent upon the soil the country was uninhabitable except for nomads, and nomads leave behind them little but their graves. Here there are no city-tells, because there were no cities, and at first it seemed as if our work would almost end, as it must begin, with an examination of these short-lived Christian towns.

Beersheba itself, our starting-point, is so ruined that not a single building could be distinctly traced; even the great cemeteries have been rifled in the search for stones ready cut to be re-used in the building of the new town. We secured copies of some twenty funerary inscriptions, but apart from this there was nothing for us to do. Khalassa was only less disappointing as a ruin, for this site also has been systematically plundered for building-stones, which are carried off to Gaza; we could only plan in its outlines. It was a large town with a population of perhaps thirty thousand people, important because of its position on the junction of the great roads that connect Gaza and Hebron with the ports upon the Red Sea; since the work on the fields was in the hands of the people living in the farms and villages round about, the urban population must have been largely engaged in trade—perhaps in the unravelling and re-weaving of the silks that came from China up the Akabah road to the wealthy cities of the North. We could distinguish by the solidity of its walls the fort of the Bishopric of Gaza, standing on the bank of the wady; otherwise the town had no proper defences, but the walls of houses and of gardens made a continuous line all round the city—a line full of angles and returns, broken only by

arched gateways at rare intervals—a sufficient safeguard against Bedouin raiders, though not enough to repel the organised attack of the conquering Mohammedans. From Khalassa we got about a score of funerary inscriptions, from el-Anga one only, from Sebaita none at all; the further south one goes the more superficial seems to be the veneer of Byzantine culture.

From Khalassa we visited Saadi and Rehaibeh, the former once a pleasant little country town, the latter the most lamentable ruin of a city. A wilderness of broken walls and loose stones spreading all down a hill-side, from which rose here and there a crumbling tower or the ragged corner of some more solidly built church or khan, fallen column-drums and withered thorn-bushes clustered about rubbish-choked cisterns, made a scene of the most utter desolation. Even the great church outside the town was too ruined to be planned; the cemetery produced but three or four illegible inscriptions.

At el-Augā (el-Aujeh) we planned the outline of the town, two churches, and the defences of the fort; the latter is far more ruinous than when Palmer visited the place. About nine years ago Abdul Hamid settled upon el-Augā as the seat of a mudirich; half of the interior of the fort was levelled to make room for the new Government house, the fort walls and much of the great church was despoiled of their ashlar stones for the benefit of the new building; the smaller monastery church was partly cleared and destined to be rebuilt as a barrack, while the walls of the town buildings were ploughed up for stones wherewith to construct shops and houses. The advent of a new régime put an end to the plan. Three modern stone houses, tile-roofed and untidily pretentious, stand below the hill, the monastery church has a zinc roof over walls six feet high; the gaunt walls of the Government house, built up to the level of the window tops, rise amid heaps of re-dressed stones and broken tiles on the site of the fort from whose ruins they were built, and shows more desolate than the ruins. But it is curious that originally, as now, el-Augā owed its existence to political reasons. It lay off the trade routes, and the broad plain of the Wady el-Hafir, fertile as it may have been in good seasons, would never have produced crops for export on a scale to justify the building of a town. The fortress, strongly built upon a steeply-carped isolated rock, formed the nucleus of the little town that sprang up beneath it; perhaps an item in Justinian's scheme of imperial defence, put up to fulfil

is theory rather than to meet a need, it stands in the middle of a Bedouin country as inexplicable as a Martello tower.

Sebaita is the best-preserved of the southern cities that we have yet seen. Here we were able to make a complete plan of the town with its streets, its gates and its reservoirs, of its three monastic churches, and of the better preserved houses. A small town, undefended except by its continuous line of house-walls, with many large courtyards, gardens, and open spaces, Sebaita stood not only off the great roads, but actually in one of the most barren places that



Fig. 1. Sebaita: Ruins of the Northern Church.

we had yet visited in Arabia Petraea. True, the Wâdy el-Abyad contains a wide stretch of fertile soil, but that is two miles away, while the country round Sebaita itself consists of flint-covered ridges and limestone outcrops. There can be little doubt that the town originated with a monastic settlement; a religious community settled here, as one settled on the rocks of Meshrefeh, three and a half miles away, simply because the place was barren, and only strenuous work could make life possible. Other monasteries were

attracted by the first, and a lay population settled round them, building their houses close together for greater security; and thus in a barren country, where there was not even a spring or a living well, there grew up a little town of field workers. The northern church of Sebaita, the largest and most magnificent, was a fine building with three main aisles and two chapels on the south; the principal apses were faced with marble and adorned with glass mosaics, but such stone carving as there was was rude and barbarous, even compared with what we find at Khalassa. In the south apse of the southern church there could be distinguished the faint traces of a fresco representing the Transfiguration: St. John, a boldly drawn figure, kneels and points to the glorified Christ while another disciple falls prostrate at his feet. The monastery buildings attached to these churches are amplifications of the normal type of house—a courtyard surrounded on three sides by chambers and communicating either directly or through an entrance chamber with the street. Wood being scarce, the rooms are roofed with stone slabs laid over arches set about a yard apart; doors, windows, and cupboards are all arched or topped with stone. The ground plan of the churches, here as elsewhere, consists of three aisles separated by colonnades and ending in apses; a screen wall pierced by three arched doorways separates the body of the church from the antechapel; a bell tower generally stands in the south west corner of the building.

Palmer's identification of Sebaita and Meshrefeh with Zepheth and Hormah must be discarded. The point can hardly be argued at length here; it is enough to say that at Sebaita there are no remains older than the third century A.D., and that Meshrefeh is a Byzantine *hura*, or congregation of hermits, each having his own cell, but attending a common church, and that here, too, there are no earlier remains. What Palmer thought to be a prehistoric fort on the hill-top is a series of cisterns by which the hermits secured their water supply. Palmer's theory that Esheol may have been in this southern country must also be rejected. The cultivation of vines implies a population more settled than we have reason to suppose existed in these parts at the time of the Exodus, and all the vineyards of which the traces are evident upon the hill-slopes are found to be in connection with Byzantine settlements; where there are no Christian ruins there are no grape heaps. We must conclude that what the spies brought were really the fruits of the Promised

Land, and not of the hill-country south of its borders; the most optimistic view of *Palestina Irredenta* can hardly include Sebaita or Khalassa within its territory.

Many years ago the Rev. F. W. Holland suggested that the great road leading from Muweileh into Egypt was the *Derb esh Shur*, the ancient route by which the patriarchs journeyed from Central Palestine to the Nile Valley. This theory we have been able to follow out further. A road leads from Hebron to Beersheba and thence runs south to Khalassa, the direct road to Gaza joining it just north of the town. Khalassa itself is, of course, of late date, but the well there seems to be ancient, and it is most probable that the town site was selected as being on an existing thoroughfare and close to water. From Khalassa a broad ancient road (still marked by its Byzantine hedgerows) goes west to the Wady Rehaibeh and running across the plain joins the Rehaibeh Gaza route close to a small conical hill that juts out from the limestone cliffs by the mouth of a side wady. On the summit of this hill we found the remains of a small fort or watch-tower of the second millennium B.C. A little to the south, under the walls of Rehaibeh, the road passes close to the ancient well, three hundred feet deep, which has been supposed to be Isaac's well. From here it goes almost due south, leaving el-Augā some two miles to the west; in the side of a little hill here we found a great chalk-cut reservoir, far from any buildings, clearly intended for the use of travellers on the great road. It cannot be shown that the reservoir is older than Byzantine times, but it may be earlier and serves at least to mark the relative antiquity and the importance of the road. Cutting across two small valleys the route climbs an easy pass on to the plateau that lies east of the Wady Hafir; then crossing the wady some five and a half miles south of el-Augā takes again a slight rise and brings one in view of Bir Birein. Just to the west of the two wells rises a hill of rugged limestone on whose top, amidst remains of Byzantine huts and modern graves, we found traces of another building contemporary with the Exodus, presumably a small fort commanding at once the watering-place and the road. From Bir Birein the track runs through the valley and then climbs the stony pass of Ras es-Sīam, the rocks along it polished to a surface like glass by the feet of camels that for centuries have passed this way, and then descending to the plain, turns more towards the east and leaving Kāsimā on the left reaches the springs of Muweileh—just one day's

march from Bir Birein for a caravan of laden camels. From Jebel Muweileh it can be seen, as Holland saw it, running in a straight line beside the wady towards the Wady el-Arish, the "River of Egypt," and the Valley of the Nile. Throughout its course, so far as we have traced it, the road is a good one, regularly watered, comparatively level, and practical even for wagons; and we have little doubt that Holland was right in supposing that by this way passed the patriarchs on their way into Egypt.



Fig. 2. 'Ain Kadis: Looking up the Valley to the Watering-place.

The following out of the Derb esh-Shur has brought us to 'Ain Kadis. Our examination of this district is not yet complete, but assuming that the Israelites marched from Egypt by way of Sinai, we have no hesitation in identifying it with the Kadesh of the wanderings. The "well" itself is a miserable trickle of water in a barren stony wady, such as may well have called forth the grumbling of the people; on the lowest estimate of their numbers the spring could never have sufficed for their needs. The waters of Meribah, unless they have dried up as miraculously as they appeared,

must be looked for at 'Ain el-Guderat, a splendid spring that makes a garden of the lower reaches of the Wady el-'Ain some six miles to the north. The great plain, partly stony, partly of arable soil, that lies at the confluence of the Wadies Kadis, el-'Ain and Muweileh, may well have been the central camping-ground of the Israelites during the forty years. Water there is in comparative abundance: besides the two springs mentioned already there are those of Muweileh and Kseima in the plain, while in the upper reaches of Wady el-'Ain (or Umm Hashim) a man can find water by digging a



Fig. 3. The Valley of 'Ain el-Guderat: Looking up towards the Spring.

hole eighteen inches deep with his camel stick (cf. Numbers xxi, 18). The plain itself affords a very fair amount of rough forage and in good years would produce a reasonable crop of corn. But the principal argument is that of the geography of the Biblical Kadesh, with which probably no other site would agree so well. Briefly, we may put the argument thus: (1) the Israelites came to Kadesh from Ezion Geber and were told to return "by way of the Red Sea"; from Kseima the main road from Gaza leads by Kontilla to Akabah:

(2) they came here with the intention of marching straight into the Promised Land, and from here the spies went up by way of Hebron; it has already been shewn that from Muweileh the ancient highway leads up by Hebron into Palestine: (3) on being forbidden the Promised Land, the Israelites' first thought was to return to Egypt; they might well have shrunk from a second journey round Sinai, but the idea was natural enough when the *Derb esh Shur* lay before their eyes and a few days' easy march would take them back to the Nile: (4) from Kadesh Aaron went to Mount Hor and died there; from the Wady el-'Ain a road goes up to Abde and there strikes what in Roman times became the main road for Petra and *Jebel Haram*,—this perhaps “the king's highway” of which Moses speaks in his message to the king of Edom: (5) the attempt of the Israelites to press northward was defeated by the Amorites; the name of the Amorites is still preserved on the outskirts of the plain at *Mugbarat el-Amiri* and *Ras Amiri* near Muweileh.

On every account Kadis and its neighbourhood appears to us to be the Kadesh Barnea of Exodus. At the present time we are investigating the graves and ruins of a semi-nomad people whose settlements, roughly contemporary with the Exodus, are to be found about the water-springs of this district. It is probable that these are the remains of the Amorites whom Israel found in possession of the country.

THE PRAISES OF THE LAND OF ISRAEL.

By RABBI JOSEPH THE SCRIBE.

*Translated from the Hebrew by the Rev. B. Z. Friedmann and edited by
Dr. E. W. G. Masterman.¹*

WHEN I was in Constantinople on shipboard, and wishing to go to the Land of Israel, I wrote you a letter telling how many wonders and miracles God did for me on the journey from Stambul on the Great Sea until I came to the Land of Israel. Among the miracles and wonders which occurred to us on the sea, it happened one day that there was a very great earthquake under the sea. The sea was raised up very high and it was stormy, and the ship was tossed up and down; there was no rest, not for a moment, and all the people on the ship were astounded, and said: "What has the Lord done to us!" We were in very great distress. The Captain also was greatly astonished, and said that, from his earliest recollection of a life spent on the sea, such a storm had never happened, nor had he heard of such an occurrence from his father before him. And the people all said that the Holy One—Blessed be He!—wants to destroy the world, perhaps he wishes to bring up the deep (Tehom). The Captain tried all manner of means to steady the ship; they threw out the great anchors, but they were torn away and thrown to the surface, and nothing was of any avail. This happened on Monday evening, the 9th day of Markheshwan 520 (Nov. 1759).² Our ship was a large one with about 2000 souls on board—Moslems and uncircumcised (i.e., Christians),—besides sailors, and not counting Jews, men and women, besides innumerable merchants. Some of the Jews were intending to go to Jerusalem—May it be built speedily in our day!—and some to Safed—May it be built in our day! I, myself, was intending to go to Safed. The custom is that anyone desiring to go to Safed, or Jerusalem, must first come to a place called Sidon from whence he must go by land.

¹ A translation of a Hebrew booklet published in Lemberg, Galicia, in 1894, giving an account of the journey to Palestine of Rabbi Joseph, the Scribe of Brody (1759-1762). The Hebrew title is **שבחי ארן ישראל**.

² Robinson (*Bib. Res.*, II, p. 424) gives the date of this earthquake as Oct. 30, 1759.

If he is going to Jerusalem, he can, if the ship goes there, disembark at a place called Jaffa, which is on the seashore. From there he must go by land on camels—about a day and a half. Our Captain was also intending to take us to Sidon, which is the most direct way to Safed, but we could not go there on account of the submarine earthquake, and the ship ran by itself to another place, which also turned out for our good. We arrived at a place called Beirût on the 10th of the month, a day after the earthquake, and there the ship remained. That place is also near to the Holy City of Safed. And we disembarked at Beirût, and then heard bad tidings—on account of our many sins. That same night (the 9th), when the earthquake happened under the sea, an earthquake occurred also at Safed and the houses fell, and the whole town was destroyed—on account of our many sins. Only a few houses remained, and it became an everlasting ruin (i.e., *tell*). On account of our many sins, there were killed about 120 souls of the Jews, and the quarters of the Moslems and of the uncircumcised (Christians) were also destroyed to their very foundations, and 2000 souls, from these people, were killed. The earthquake occurred all over the land, but in no place was it so severe as at Safed—on account of our many sins—and that has been fulfilled which is written in the Mishnah, that in the last days, before the time of the Messiah, Galilee will be destroyed, and Safed is Upper Galilee. In Jerusalem the earthquake was not so severe as in Safed, and the damage was not so great. The Mosque of the Moslems, which is near the western wall of the Holy Temple, which is very like the Christian churches in Poland, was destroyed; it was a very large building. Otherwise there was no other damage. When I heard the news I was amazed, and, after considering what to do, I made up my mind to go to Jerusalem. But when I came back to my ship she was already gone. Then I proposed to go to other places in the Land of Israel, for there are many other places, but none with so large a Jewish population as Safed. Besides Safed is a land flowing with milk and honey and a good place—there is no equal to it. I thought of going to Tiberias, or Hebron, or Shechem, where was buried Joseph. But at this juncture a very rich man, living in a place near Beirût, heard that I was detained there and came to me and said: “Now I heard from someone that you are a great scribe, and I consider that your coming here is providential, because you can write for me a *Sefer Torah* (סֵפֶר תּוֹרָה).”

So he begged me that I would undertake nothing else and promised me a salary as much as I asked, and also board in his family as long as I was so employed. He promised me everything good and also presents. This proposal pleased me very much. He also added: "Perhaps by the time you complete the *Sefer Torah*, Safed will be partly rebuilt and I will then send you there at my expense." So I commenced to write the *Sefer Torah* in the month of Kislew. And I had great happiness in his house, only the place is not considered to be the Land of Israel. And I gave great praise and thanks to God that I had not arrived before the earthquake, when I should—God forbid!—have been in the earthquake. For it is written: "As we have to bless for good things so must we bless the Almighty for evil things." For we had had many delays on the sea and were troubled, and it all turned out for our good. And now I must narrate what happened to me. I was sitting at night on Monday the 7th of Kislew writing the Torah, and my rich patron was sitting beside me admiring and delighting in my writing, when, all of a sudden, another earthquake began. The pen was thrown from my hand and the ink was spilt on the parchment because of the violence of the earthquake. And this is a wonderful thing that the moment before the earthquake I was writing this passage out of the end of Genesis—"And the Lord repented that he had made man," and immediately as I finished writing this passage the earthquake began. My room was in the upper storey—the whole house was of stone as are all the houses in this land—and when we felt the tremor we all ran down to the ground floor—but before we had quite reached this all the upper rooms collapsed, including the room in which I had been writing. Now go and see how many wonders and miracles the Holy One, Blessed be He, did for me from Poland till I reached this place. When I was in Somnitz there was a great fire, and the Holy One, Blessed be He, delivered me without my receiving any injury; secondly, when I came to Wallachia there was a very great invasion of Tartars who were going about destroying the whole country, so I went without delay to Galatz, which is on the banks of the Danube—one goes from there to Stambul by way of the Black Sea—but before I reached Galatz the Lord (lit. the Name) made a miracle for me, for at the moment of my arrival I found a ship waiting to start for Stambul, on board which I at once hastened. Before I had actually embarked the Tartars entered the town, and those who could,

hastened to the ship or to other places of safety. Those who remained at Galatz suffered great tribulation. The Tartars robbed and murdered the people and set fire to the city. Indeed, it was then but one step for me between life and death, and God delivered me out of all this. Thirdly, God delivered me also from the first earthquake (9th Markheshwan). A man named Reb. Zedek, and his wife Razel, came from Brody to Stambul in the month Ab, and soon after, in the month Elul, as a large ship happened to be starting for the Land of Israel—for usually one ship goes in this month annually, and no more—they arranged with the Captain to take passage in her. And I also intended to accompany them, but could not get away in time. Did I not write to you before that at Stambul there was a rich man who had a Sefer Torah in the ark so damaged (פְּסָולָה, i.e., so much injured that it cannot legally be used in the Synagogue) that for about ten years no scribe was found able to repair it! It needed great skill. When this rich man heard that I was going by that ship he hastened to ask me about whether I could possibly repair this Sefer Torah, and assured me that another ship would be leaving soon. He also promised me a handsome remuneration, and said that on account of the merit of this work the Lord would deliver me, and I would reach the Land of Israel in peace. So I consented on account of that Mitzvah (good deed) and repaired the Sefer Torah with extraordinary care so that the whole town was astonished and amazed, and declared that it was better than new; they also gave me four times the amount of the reward which they had promised. And also this turned out for my benefit. For I came to Stambul at the New Year, and remained there about a year, and that ship which was there at the time I arrived, went without me and I had to wait for another. And this was fortunate for me, for the Reb. Zedek went with his wife by the first ship, and arrived in Safed at the feast of Tabernacles, and on the 7th of Kislev the earthquake occurred and he was killed—on account of our many sins. His wife escaped from the earthquake and ran away to Akka, but died there of the plague. This is very extraordinary that one who saved herself at Safed should die of pestilence at Akka. She died on Tuesday, the 12th of Shebat 520 (1760), and it would be a good deed to make this known to her relatives, sending the news to the holy community of Brody, because she has got a sister there named Ettel, the wife of Rabbi Hertzl. For me, I give thanks and praise unto the Lord that

I went by the later ship and was saved. One man whom I met told me every detail of the fate of Safed as follows: Several nights before the first earthquake this man's father appeared to him in a dream crying bitterly, plucking out the hair of his head, weeping bitter tears and greatly trembling. So he said to his father: "Father, what does this mean?" He answered: "My son, know that a very great doom has been decreed upon this community. Therefore now see to it that they all straightway repent greatly and make a public fast with great supplication and tears that perhaps this evil fate may be annulled." In the morning the man rose up and went to the Synagogue, weeping bitterly, and narrated the dream to the congregation. Very great fear fell upon them all and a public fast was ordered from the oldest to the youngest, and the Selikhoth (סְלִיחוֹת) was said with great weeping. They also ordered a minor Day of Atonement with great repentance. Nevertheless the evil decree could not be annulled--on account of our many sins--and when the evening of Monday the 9th of Markheshwan arrived the earthquake happened with terrible wrath, and fifty of the Jews were killed: also a great many of the Moslems and Christians, as mentioned above. Also that exalted man Reb. Zedek was killed--through our many sins--by a mass of stones from four stories falling upon him. The people sought for him several days and nights till at length they found his mangled corpse--there has never been found the like--his face could not be recognized. After that shocks were felt day and night, but not so strong as on that night; in fact, there were shocks almost every hour, even in the daytime. The great earthquake commenced quite suddenly, so much so, that many people who were standing up were thrown on their faces to the ground; they thought that God must be going to destroy the world. Many of the people, men, women and children ran away to a place near the seashore called Akka; it is a very good place, only it is doubtful whether it is really in the Land of Israel. A great pestilence broke out among these refugees in Akka, and many died. Among others the lady Razel, as mentioned above, died in this pestilence and was buried in (Kefr) Yusuf. There died also at this time Reb. Fishel, the Rabbi of the congregation of Lubab (לָבָב), and also Reb. Isaac and his sister, and they were buried at (Kefr) Yusuf. Anyone (i.e., any Jew) dying in Akka is carried on a bier about one and a half hours to the Land of Israel to a place called (Kefr) Yusuf. When the people of Safed saw that

the earth was a little at rest, those who had sufficient means repaired their houses. Then came Sunday evening the 6th of Kislew and the second earthquake, and the houses were again thrown down, as it is written in the Prophets: "They shall build and I will destroy,"¹ and all the buildings became a heap of stones. From the destruction of the temple there never was such an evil fate as Safed.

My informant also told me that before the second earthquake his father appeared to him in a dream, a second time, and said: "My son, see to it that you let the people, in all the district where there are Jews, know that they must not sleep, any one of them, inside the house, but outside." The next morning when he told the dream to all the people there was very great fear, and they slept for several nights outside with all their wives and children.² Those, however, who did not take heed slept inside their houses, and of these about seventy were killed. This same man told me also a very wonderful thing that occurred at a place near Safed called Merom. Here is buried Rabbi Shim'on ben Yohai—"May his memory be blessed!"—with his son, Rabbi Eliazar, in a cave, over which cave is a very beautiful building of stone with a large dome on the top. This building is locked day and night, and the keys are kept with the Shammash at Safed, and anyone visiting the tombs must go to this Shammash and give him his fee, and he accompanies them to this place, unlocks the door and then, when they have finished their prayers, he locks it again and returns with them. There are chiefly Moslems and Christians living at Merom and very few Jews. When the earthquake happened all the Moslems and Christians rushed to the tomb of Rabbi Shim'on, and, finding the door locked they cried out: "Rabbi Shim'on, Rabbi Shim'on, since you are a very great man in the world and honourable, and as we have heard of your greatness from our fathers, and as also we too esteem you great, open the door." Immediately the door opened of itself, and they all went inside with their wives and children and were saved, suffering no damage at all. On which account he is now even more greatly esteemed in their eyes. And when later on I visited this tomb myself I learned that when the second earthquake occurred in Kislew all the Jews, Christians and Moslems ran

¹ Mal. i, 4.

² See "Diary of a Visit to Safed" (Q.S., 1907, pp. 111-113), where a similar dream in 1907 gave rise to a considerable panic.

again to the tomb of Rabbi Shim'on, and on their arrival there they saw that the whole building was lifted up high and actually leapt into the air like a human being, and they also noticed that the dome upon that building was split in halves and was opened up widely into two divisions. When they saw this, great fear fell upon them, and they cried aloud, trembling: "Rabbi Shim'on, Rabbi Shim'on, if thy building is in such a condition what will be the end of us!" This state of things lasted more than half an hour, and then, when the earth tremors had quite ceased, the building came down again into its place, and the dome on the top, which had been divided into two parts, God joined again just as it was before, so that there was not the very slightest damage. Men entered the place and witnessed to the miracle, for, after searching diligently, both inside and outside the building, they could not find the slightest trace of crack or other damage.

There is also a very large placee near the Land of Israel called Damascus, but it is beyond the Land of Israel. They (*i.e.*, the Moslems) have there a very large house of prayer, with four very large pillars of marble, which holds many hundreds of people; it has no equal in the whole world. When the first earthquake happened it all fell to the very foundations. In Damascus there are seven synagogues and several schools (*Beit midrashoth*) which suffered no damage at all, but in the private houses very much damage was done.

Now there is there (at Jobar) a great synagogue called the Synagogue of Elijah—May his memory be blessed!—in which is an ark containing a hundred Torahs together with the pen of Ezra the Scribe—Peace be upon him!—and there are many other wonders in that place.

In Damascus also is the tomb of Rabbi Hayyim Vitalי (רבי חיימן ויטלי), a disciple of Luria—may his memory be blessed. But, one asks, how does he come to be buried there, especially as it is beyond the Land of Israel? It was told me that it happened thus: One day, as the Rabbi Isaac Luria was studying with Rabbi Hayyim Vitali and with the rest of his disciples, Luria suddenly gave utterance to a bitter cry, and ordered Rabbi Hayyim Vitali to go as quickly as possible to Damascus, because a very evil decree had been issued against the (Jewish) community there, only it was not as yet sealed (*i.e.*, in Heaven). So he went quickly to that place and offered many prayers and petitions, and ordered a public fast from the oldest to the youngest. And the people repented greatly and the

evil decree was annulled. There was a very evil spirit, her name was the "House of Rinimon," and a river flowed out of that house to the city, and anyone who was not aware of that evil spirit and drank of that water, even if he was a great Khakam (Rabbi), lost his mind and became an atheist. God forbid (חַס וְשִׁלְוֹם)! When the Rabbi Hayyim arrived at Damascus they told him of this evil spirit, so he made up his mind not to leave the city until that evil spirit had been destroyed. He was there (i.e., at Beit Rinnon) several times and he died quite suddenly, and was buried at Damascus, and the evil spirit was destroyed by the help of God.

And now to return to our first subject, about the Torah which I wrote for that rich man living near Beirût. I had everything good, all that my heart desired, and I wrote the Torah so beautifully that its equal is not to be found in the whole land. I finished this work, by the help of God, after the feast of Passover, and he paid me generously, as he promised me, and also gave me several presents. The Lord also did for me a great miracle immediately after the first earthquake. There was a very great pestilence all over the country—on account of our many sins—and in many places many people died, leaving but few survivors and these in very great distress. Indeed, all people told me that, so far as their memory went back, there had never been such a pestilence, especially in the winter. Now in the place to which I went there was no pestilence at all—Blessed be God!—and the people there said that this was very wonderful in their eyes, and they considered that it was through the merit of the Torah. And this place is called Dar (דַּר ¹*Dar el-Kamar*). It is a beautiful place, not far from Safed, but it is beyond the Land of Israel. Its position is on one side above the Great Sea and on other sides there are very high mountains. On one side is the very lofty Lebanon, the highest of all. That Lebanon is very beautiful and all kinds of roots and vegetables grow there, and I consider it a great joy and privilege that I have been there. No wonder that Moses prayed and said: "Let me pass and see that good mountain and Lebanon."¹ There are great doctors there who understand all the different plants. They come here in the month of Iyyar (May) to gather these wonderful herbs. There are such herbs here as can revive the dead; there are other herbs from which can be extracted silver and gold; cattle feeding upon such are found after being slaughtered to contain in their bowels

¹ Deut. iii, 25.

gold and silver of a beautiful colour, but the herbs producing this are themselves unknown. There are also very beautiful and healthful springs. While I was writing the Torah, I had great happiness in seeing Mount Lebanon opposite to me through the open window. This mountain is the commencement of the Land of Israel and is connected with the mountains of Jerusalem. It goes to the mountains of Salvenker¹ (סָלְוֶנְקֶר). I have also been with my rich patron to a hill on which is buried Noah,² with his son Shem, in a cave, but the tombs of his wife and Ham and Japhet are unknown. There are also many tombs of great men, too many to write of in detail. I have seen the tomb of Samson³ the giant, which is very large, and I have seen the house which he threw down upon himself and the Philistines before his death; even to the present day they cannot rebuild it; there are still Philistines in those places. I have also seen the place where God made a covenant with Abraham—Peace be upon him!—this is also a very lofty place. From there I saw the whole land of Havelah (Huleh) to its end, and other wonders.

When I finished the Torah after the Passover Feast a very extraordinary thing happened, the pestilence commenced in that very place where I was and every day there fell about fifty people. Great fear fell upon all the Jews, who ran away to many places, to fields and gardens. My patron also took refuge in some gardens with his wife and children and desired me to accompany him. But this I would not do. I made several (cabalistic) experiments to find out which way I should fly because the pestilence was everywhere. Now at Sidon where the pestilence had commenced many people had died. Out of six minyanim (congregations of at least ten) of Jews so many had died that now there was scarcely one minyan (כִּינְסָן) left; of the Moslems there perished more than ten thousand. I made several great (cabalistic) works because I was at a loss what to do, but it was shown me in a dream that I should go to Sidon, because the pestilence having commenced there it would there first cease. Now all my friends were opposed to my going there, but I took no heed and made up my mind to do as was decreed of Heaven and fear not. In truth the pestilence still

¹ Seleuchia?

² The “tomb of Noah” is now pointed out at Kerak Nûh, near Zahleh, in Coele Syria. See Baedeker’s *Palestine*, p. 322.

³ At Gaza.—Baedeker, p. 121.

lingered there among the Gentiles, and there were as many as forty to fifty deaths daily, but among the Jews it had ceased. Scarcely one minyan survived. I suffered, however, no harm because of the great talisman of Luria which he had employed. Now when the Jews heard that I was in Sidon they all came back. Those who had had no bubos (boils) survived, those who had had them died. I remained in Sidon from Iyyar (May) to Markheshwan (Nov.) 521. Now Sidon is a very beautiful place in which are all kinds of fruit, some of which I have never seen, and many remarkable things. Lemons are sold for one para, there are also very many citron and palm-trees close to the town; also behind the synagogues there are very high palm-trees with beautiful long leaves. And it is from Sidon that they bring the palm leaves and citrons to Jerusalem and other places. There are also citrons and palm-trees in Safed, but not so many as in Sidon. In many places in the Land of Israel there are many myrtles which the Shammas cuts while green and distributes to the synagogues on account of their beautiful perfume—a scent like paradise. There is also a kind of myrtle which are called Meshullash (**משולש**) with a heavenly perfume. I have also seen the *haz* and *dardar* (thistles) and many other wonders.

Close to the town of Sidon is the tomb of Zebulon,¹ son of Jacob—Peace be upon him! It is a very large and handsome stone building and the door is kept closed; there is, however, a Moslem guardian who has the key and he opens the door for a few paras for anyone visiting the tomb. I have been there with my wife and son a dozen times. Indeed, I studied and prayed at all the tombs and graves. The cenotaph of Zebulon is placed in the western wall of the building, and in front of it is a very beautiful canopy on which are all kinds of designs. The enclosure has a door and that was opened to me, and I offered my prayers before the cenotaph, which is six cubits long and six wide. This building has a very beautiful dome, and round the house is a garden with large trees and a spring; the whole is enclosed in a high wall with a very lofty gate. Anyone visiting this tomb has much pleasure. Jews, together with their wives, come here from a distance and often stay a whole week and make feast—eating and drinking and making merry with musical instruments. Now people say that Sidon is

¹ *Weli Nebi Seidum*, three minutes from the Akka Gate of Sidon; “Jews make pilgrimages to this wely which they call the ‘Tomb of Zebulon.’ It is surrounded by a wall and by it is a column.”—Baedeker, p. 278.

actually in the Land of Israel, because in the blessings of Zebulon it is stated that Zebulon should dwell on the shore of the sea (*byis*) and his border should be unto Sidon. Now Sidon is actually near the seashore and Zebulon is buried near Sidon—and, as a fact, all the patriarchs are buried in the Land of Israel. Thus I have also found in other books that the tomb of Judah is near Jerusalem. Benjamin also is buried near this city, Joseph is buried at Shechem, Zebulon and Issacher at Sidon—but the tomb of the latter is not now known. But some say that the whole thing is a mistake and Sidon is beyond the Land of Israel, and they say that there is another Sidon. The whole question is therefore doubtful, and on this account I did not want to remain there. About two hours distant from Sidon are buried four men of great repute. One is Eliab, the son of Abišamak (**אליאב בן אחישמך**)—this tomb is in a very handsome cave covered with all kinds of designs; near this cave there are several houses. In another cave is buried Bezalel,¹ in another Reb. Eleazar, the man of Bartota,² and in yet another is Zephaniah the prophet. The name of Eliab is held in much honour even among the Gentiles, and they come to visit his tomb, and it is the custom that anyone visiting there puts down gifts according to his generosity. There is, therefore, then much gold and silver money, but it is impossible to take from it even one para. Once it happened that a Jew tried to take some of the gold coins, but his hand soon was seized with pain, and he cried out bitterly with many tears and confessed his sin and restored the money to its place, whereupon his hand was immediately healed.

I have already told you, when writing from Stambul, that when I was going from there to the ship the Khakamim (Rabbis) called me to some rich people, who meet together every Wednesday to decide the affairs of the community, and they begged me to stay with them, saying, I might there gain much money which I could not possibly do in the Land of Israel. My reply was that I was greatly astonished to hear such things from Khakamim like them. Was my purpose in coming so far to get much money? Was it not my intention to go to the Holy Land? I trusted in God that he would not leave me in distress. He had always been my help and he would not leave me, even in the Land of Israel. When they

¹ A Palestine amora of the fourth century.—*Jewish Ency.*

² Bartota = ? Beirut. Eleazar ben Judah of Bartota was a disciple of Joshua ben Hananiah and a contemporary of Akiba. See *Jewish Ency.*

heard this reply they all burst forth in blessings and gave me good wishes that I might go in peace and that the Lord would prosper my journey. But now, when they heard the bad news that Safed was destroyed and that I was living in Sidon, they wrote to me that I should return to Stambul and wait there until Safed should be rebuilt. To this I replied: "When I was with you I did not wish to stay and now I am so much nearer to the Land of Israel how much less would I return." And that firstly, though Safed was destroyed, yet there were other places like Tiberias, Hebron and Shechem, and that my intention was to go to Jerusalem, the Holy City, if possible, but that before that I wished to visit all the sacred tombs, because to travel about from Jerusalem was very expensive, and especially because of the double custom-taxes, in coming in and going out. And secondly, that at all the places, e.g., in Sidon and outside, I had been asked to repair for them the Torahs, the phylacteries, the mezuzahs, and that this was a very meritorious act.

Now at this time all the leaders of the Safed community were living temporarily in a place in the Land of Israel called *Pekinut* (פְּקִינָעַת), i.e., the cleft (*el-Bukeia*), together with all the Khakamim and the wealthy folks. This is a good place, and there is the wonderful cave where Rabbi Shim'on and his son Eleazar dwelt thirteen years at the time they fled from Caesar, as is mentioned in the Talmud. Near to this cave is a beautiful spring and a carob-tree. There are also other tombs of righteous men; also the tomb of one which is very wonderful, and is made out of one great rock like an oven—the body was laid inside. Near the tomb is a very large stone like a door. I have been in this place and this tomb, and also the cave of Rabbi Shim'on.

When the Safed people heard that I had been in Sidon for several months they wrote to me as follows:—"Since we have learned that your honour has been detained at this place, we are very astonished that you do not come to us, because it is very doubtful whether Sidon is in the Land of Israel, but Safed is certainly in it, therefore you must come to this place quickly." Now I remained in Sidon until after the New Year (521), and then I went by sea to

¹ *El-Bukeia* is a delightfully situated village, with abundance of water and extensive gardens about half way between Safed and Akka. It is buried away in the mountains. The population consists of Jews, Christians, Moslems and Druzes, more or less equally.

Akka when I had to pay double customs, viz., four gold coins. From Akka I went on camel back to a place one and a half hours distant, called (Kefr) Yusuf, which is also not far from Pek'in, and is also, like Pek'in, in the Land of Israel. From Akka, about half an hour towards Kefr Yusuf, begins the Land of Israel. The land there is white, like chalk. I remained there until the New Year 522, and repaired several of their Torahs. Near there is a place called Arkhim, near which is buried Hushai Arkhim, who was a friend of David—Peace be upon him! I was in this tomb, over which is a large stone building, like the tomb of Zebulon mentioned above. A little further off—about two hours' journey—is a place called Kebel (Cabul), where is the tomb of Eben Ezra with a handsome building over it. Also Samuel the Little is buried there, and other righteous men. I offered prayers at all these tombs. Near Cabul is an extraordinary thing, a very deep hole in the ground; when the fast of the 9th of Ab comes a great weeping is heard coming out of that hole. Anyone in the near neighbourhood can hear the crying on that particular day, but no one can explain it.

Not far from (Kefr) Yusuf is a village called Ezron Geber¹ and in the mountain on its far side is the cave of Elijah the Prophet, which is very wonderful, and upon the mountain is his altar and also the altar where he slaughtered the prophets of Baal; there, also, is buried the Prophet Elisha.

Meanwhile, they had repaired several houses in Safed, and also two synagogues, and the Governor promised to give as much assistance as possible by sending to all the places where the Khakamim had taken refuge, telling them to return. They came back on the New Year (522) and I also accompanied them and secured a very nice stone house with a dome on the top.

Immediately on the slope of the mountain at Safed is the Jewish cemetery, in the midst of which is the tomb of Luria,² with the tomb of his son on one side, and that of his daughter on the other. At the foot of the hill is the tomb of Phineas ben Jair,³ and the father-in-law of Rabbi Shim'on; there is an olive-tree near it. There also is the birket (pool) of Luria in which I had the privilege of bathing. A little further on is a cave over which is a large building, this is

¹ Apparently Haifa.

² Isaac ben Solomon Askhenazi Luria, founder of the Modern Cabala, b. Jerusalem, 1534; d. Safed, 1572.—*Jewish Ency.*

³ According to the *Jewish Ency.* he was buried at Kefr Berim.

the tomb of Hosea ben Beeri.¹ Another cave is that of Rabbi Hammuna Saba²; another cave is that of Rabbi Yusuf Karo and his teacher. In another cave-tomb is buried the Chassid, Eleazar, the Chief Rabbi of Brody. On the eve of each new moon, and on every feast day, I go and pray at this tomb and my heart rejoices. Near Kefr Zeitun,³ very near the Holy City of Safed, are buried Rabbi Eleazar ben 'Arah and Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah, and other prophets and Talmudists.

I also at this time secured a very honourable betrothal for my son, such as I had desired for many years. Now when I was at the wedding of my son at Tiberias, I went several times to the hot baths which are there: they have done my body more good than all the doctors. I then visited the tombs of Rabbi Akiba and Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai, the disciples of Rabbi Akiba are also buried there. In the first village (?) is the cave of Rabbi Kahana and also Rabbi Meir, the miracle worker, and Rabbi José Cohen, and near that tomb is that of Maimonides.⁴ Concerning Maimonides I asked the Khakāmīm how it was he was buried there. Was he not in Egypt till the day of his death? If he died in Egypt how could he be buried in Tiberias? And they told me how it actually happened. Many years before his death Maimonides decided to go to the Land of Israel, and the Sultan of Egypt would not allow him. When, however, the day of his death arrived, he called together his disciples and commanded them that they should prepare him for burial soon after his death, and put on the takhrikim (תַּהְרִיכִין, winding-sheets), and do all necessary preparation for a corpse and then put him upon a camel. They were to let the camel go by itself, the disciples following. At the spot where the camel came to a stand and refused to move, there they should bury him. And the disciples did so. The camel walked from morning to evening until at length it reached Tiberias, when it stood still in a certain spot near the tomb of Rabbi Yohanan, the son of Zakkai, from which place it refused to move. When the disciples saw that great miracle they took the corpse down from the camel and buried it at that spot. Now from Egypt to Tiberias is a very long way and they had had miraculous help on the road (lit., "jumping of the road"), but when they had to return to Egypt they had to travel several weeks. Tiberias is situated

¹ The Old Testament prophet.

² Babylonian amora, third and fourth centuries.—*Jewish Ency.*

³ 'Ain Zeitūn.

⁴ Rabbi Mūsa ben Maimūn.

upon the Sea of Chinnereth. This is not so large as the other sea, there are no great ships upon it, and the water is very sweet like spring water. The people of the town have no cisterns, they drink from the lake. In the middle of the lake is the well of Miriam, but the exact place is not known. The city is very good and beautiful, and possesses everything good, and there is much fish to be had for nothing. The city, too, is surrounded by a strong wall,¹ and the Jewish quarter is between the wall of the city and the sea; there are two gates, one to the Moslem quarter and the other to the sea, to fetch water and fish. The Jewish quarter is very strong, and they have great liberty from ancient times. Now, the Khakāmim and the townsfolk desired me to remain among them, but this I could not do. I could not live there for the one great fault, that there is such great heat there, even in winter. In summer no man can endure such heat, the city being situated in a valley which is called "Lower Galilee."

Safed is called "Upper Galilee" because it is on an exceedingly high mountain, higher than all the mountains, and it has very beautiful air in summer and winter. From Nisan (March) to Tishri (Sept.-Oct.), there is, wonderful to say, no rain at all in all the country of the Land of Israel, and yet the inhabitants have plenty of wheat and fruits—good and beautiful. They sow and reap twice a year, because they have so much dew (tal) in the morning. When Markheshwan comes the rain begins to descend and continues all the winter till Nisan, and no snow or cold of any kind occurs. Only in Tebet (Dec.-Jan.) and Shebat (Jan.) is it cold like in Poland and Austria. In Safed it is colder than in all the land of Israel because it is situated on such a height. From the winter rain they have abundance of blessings for the whole year, and in the summer mornings, dew; and it is very pleasant to have the whole summer without any rain and yet to want nothing. Near Safed is a spring called Bir Saba² (בר שבע) and they told me that the water of that spring is too sweet for cooking so they have to mix some spices with it to make it suitable. There is also another spring which is called "The waters of healing,"³ and one has to pay one para for each jar. Near Safed there is also a place called Merom where is the cave of Rabbi Shim'on and of his son Rabbi Eleazar, and over it

¹ Built 1738 by Dhahr el-'Omer; destroyed by earthquake of 1837, the ruins are now rapidly disintegrating.

² Now 'Ain Saba below valley of Beria.

³ ? 'Ain el-'Afeyeh.

a very handsome building. Three times a year pilgrims come from every part of the Holy Land to visit these tombs. One time is in Elul and they spend night and day studying the Zohar, another time is before the month of Nisan, and the third time is "Lag be-Omer," thirty-three days after the Passover (לַג בֶּעָמָר) and that is called the "Wedding of Rabbi Shim'on" and they have an old tradition that on that day they must make a great rejoicing with feasting and with music. They told me that anyone dying abroad (lit., "beyond the land") is called "dead," but here, in the Land of Israel, he is called "living," and they gave me a proof of this. Anyone dying abroad, his corpse is covered with black, especially when he is carried upon the bier, but here, in the Land of Israel, his corpse is covered with white garments, because here, in this land, he is not called dead but living. They also told me what happened many years ago. A rich man came by sea from Smyrna to visit the tomb of Rabbi Shim'on on Lag be-Omer and he brought with him his only son. When he saw the rejoicing at the tomb he was very much astonished and rebuked the people, saying: "Inasmuch as Rabbi Shim'on died on this day we ought to try and weep and you are making it a holiday." And he stopped the rejoicing. Upon the next day this man's only son got very ill and died, and in the night Rabbi Shim'on appeared to the father in a dream and said: "Since you have destroyed my rejoicing I will take away your joy." When therefore the people saw that Rabbi Shim'on desired that rejoicing, they keep this anniversary with even more festivity than before. They also told me very many wonderful things about the place. If a woman enters that cave when she is "unclean" a very great stone falls upon her, and she and all there must run away quickly. In the year 525, in the month of Kislev, some rich Jews sent some money from Europe that the Khakanim should go to the tomb of Rabbi Shim'on and pray for them. All the Khakanim went and I accompanied them. We came in the evening of the 9th of Shebat, and there we studied the whole night, and early the next morning we prayed with great earnestness, after which we spent the whole day till evening in study. Then we recited the prayer of Minkhah with earnest supplication, and also the night prayer. And I have heard many more extraordinary things to write to you about, but it is impossible to write them all at one time, and therefore I give praise and thanksgiving to God every moment for all miracles which he did for me to the present time.

Now, near the cave of Rabbi Shimon, a little higher on the hillside, is the cave of Rabbi Johanan the shoemaker,¹ and a little lower down is the cave of Hillel the Elder. He is lying on one side with his disciples, and his wife and children on the opposite side. On the top of the hill is the cave of Shammai the Elder, with his disciples.

Now in Safed there were many synagogues which were all destroyed in the first earthquake: of these two have now been repaired, and the Khakāmim have sent to Stambul and to all other lands asking for money to repair the town and the other synagogues. And I have written all these letters, and I arrange with them that they should pay me four (troubles), and they are very pleased with my beautiful writing. I pray God that these messages may bring plenty of money. Meanwhile I am visiting all the tombs of the Rabbis, and although I have many expenses, nevertheless, I don't trouble myself about money, and I hope to God, if it be His Will, that I shall also visit Jerusalem—May it be built speedily!—and Hebron and Shechem with the tomb of Joseph and the way of Ephrath to see the tomb of Rachael, our mother—May her memory be blessed! And I have great joy in all the places that I visit, and now I have to thank and praise God that I am able to relate the praises of the Land of Israel, the Holy, in which are to be found all good things which cannot be found anywhere else, and anybody who says it is not good to be in the Land of Israel, they are spreading slander against the Land, like the Spies of Old. Only anyone who comes here must bring with him money, and not come empty, or he must have a good trade by which he can earn a livelihood, and this is, indeed, like all the rest of the world. Nowhere is money given to a man for nothing.

Publisher's Note.—Here the Author proceeds at great length more in praise of the Land of Israel, and after telling also of his difficulties and troubles thus concludes:—

“In the year 518 (1758) I left Brody in Poland, and in the year 522 (1762) I arrived in the Holy City of Safed—May it be built speedily in our day!—Amen.”

¹ Johanan ha-Sandalar, Tanna of the second century, one of the disciples of Akiba (*Jewish Ency.*).

JAMNIA DURING THE PRESIDENCY OF GAMALIEL II,
c. A.D. 80-117.

By ARCHDEACON DOWLING.

This Rabbi (Rabban Gamaliel) was the son of Simon and grandson of Gamaliel I, leader of the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, referred to in Acts v, 34. He is called Gamaliel II, or Gamaliel, Prince in Jamnia, from his position as Patriarch of the first Rabbinic School re-opened in that city. He ranks as one of the seven great Rabbins of the Talmudists.

Belonging to the new generation of Tannaim, A.D. 90-130, he lived long enough to feel the oppression which at last led to the great Jewish revolt.

Several quaint stories in connection with Rabban Gamaliel II are to be found scattered throughout Hershon's *Genesis: with a Talmudical Commentary* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1883). He was the chief speaker in the debate held by the Elders in Rome, A.D. 95, on the occasion of their journey to that city from Jamnia, in order to intercede for the Palestinian Jews. The Talmud abounds with references to the incidents of this journey.

An important point undertaken by Gamaliel II was to determine the time and order of the daily prayer. He ordered that every Israelite is bound to pray three times a day. He appointed R. Simon Hapekuli, one of the members of the Sanhedrin, to arrange the eighteen benedictions for the daily liturgy.

As scruples were entertained whether the ancient number of eighteen beatitudes, which formed part of the Temple and Synagogue Service prior to and at the Advent of Christ, should be increased, Gamaliel added a new prayer for the restoration of Jerusalem; and further, he fixed the Service for the Passover Eve in the place of the Paschal sacrifice, and himself compiled several portions contained in the ritual for that evening.

It was his constant desire to see the rival followers of Hillel and Shammai reconciled. In his legal decisions Gamaliel, as a Pharisee, followed the celebrated school of Hillel. The Great Sanhedrin at

Jannia enjoyed the highest reputation towards the end of the first, and in the beginning of the second century after Christ. Rabban Gamaliel II and his court of justice watched over the current reckoning of the contents of the Kalendar, which became the authoritative standard. Even in regard to the number of the members of the Sanhedrin, we read of "the Seventy two Elders."

Gamaliel's policy of aggrandising his own office of Patriarch has often been ascribed to motives of pride. In all probability his action in this matter was the outcome of his unifying tendency, and due to a belief that to secure unity in Judaism, one supreme authority was a necessity. In seeking to attain this end, he went the length of humiliating Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus of Lydda, and R. Joshua ben Chananiah, his superiors in learning. In consequence, he himself was deposed from office, although by the charity of Joshua he was later reinstated along with a colleague, Rabbi Eliezer ben Azariah. When we remember that in the hour of his defeat, he was content to sit as a humble member of the Academy which he had ruled so long, surely we must conclude that he was not vain-glorious nor self-seeking.

In the course of time, Gamaliel was reinstated as Patriarch. It must not be supposed that he was an intolerant bigot; the fact that he cultivated Greek literature, and that he had free intercourse with both heathen philosophers and Jewish Christians would of itself be a sufficient proof that he was liberal in his sentiments. He even went so far as to bathe at Ptolemais (Acre) in a bath which was adorned with a statue of the beautiful goddess Aphrodite, and when a philosopher (i.e., a Jewish Christian) asked him how he could reconcile it with his religion, Gamaliel replied that the statue was not to be worshipped, but to adorn the building, as is evident from the little regard paid to it, that it had been made for the bath, and not the bath for it, and that it would be absurd to be prevented thereby from using the employment of nature.

It was an ancient custom among the Jews to bury their dead with great pomp. The heavy expenses which this entailed upon the poor sadly crippled their resources. Gamaliel forbade this extravagance, and ordered his family to bury him in simple white linen, and so did away with the extreme expensiveness of Jewish funerals. Ripe in years, full of honour, and beloved of all, Gamaliel II died in the first year of Hadrian, A.D. 117. According to an early Jewish tradition, he was buried at Jannia. So great was

the regard in which he was held, that Onkelos, his disciple, and the celebrated Chaldee translator of the Pentateuch, showed his body royal honours, and burned at his funeral costly garments and furniture to the amount of seventy Tyrian minae, see *Jer. xxxiv, 5.* [The mina was an old Greek weight, and a sum of coined money equal to it. The intrinsic value of the Attic mina of silver was £3 6s. 8d.] It was such a funeral pile as was raised at the burial of a king. Onkelos declared that Gamaliel was worth more than a hundred kings, from whom the world had nothing.

R. Eliezer ben Azariah, his co-president, and R. Joshua, his former antagonist, ordered general mourning, to which the whole nation readily responded. This incident, as also several others ascribed to Gamaliel I in Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul* (American edition), Vol. I, p. 61, etc., edit. 1856, refer to Gamaliel II.

JEWISH COUNCIL OF JAMNIA.

c. A.D. 90.

The canonicity of the Old Testament was confirmed towards the close of the first century.

After the fall of Jerusalem, Jamnia became the centre of Palestinian Judaism, and headquarters of Jewish learning.

Possibly the destruction of Jerusalem, and the threatened annihilation of the Jewish race, coupled with the rivalry of the Alexandrian Version, determined the Jewish Rabbis at the so-called Council of Jamnia, to decree officially the limits of the Hebrew Canon of Scripture.¹ This Council could scarcely have had any formal recognition from the Roman authorities, but yet it occupied the position of the old Sanhedrin of Jerusalem as the final court of appeal for Judaism.

What is of great importance to the student of ecclesiastical history and Christian antiquities in the deposition of Rabban Gamaliel, is the fact that the Canon of the Hebrew Scriptures was settled under the new presidency.

Immediately after his elevation to the patriarchate, R. Eliezer, at the instigation of R. Joshua, undertook a revision of the decisions which had been carried by Rabban Gamaliel.

Up to this time the members of the Sanhedrin themselves, in whom was vested the power to fix the Canon, disputed the

¹ *The Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, p. 17, edit. 1905.

canonicity of certain portions of the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus the school of Shammai excluded Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs from the List of Holy Writ, declaring that they proceeded from Solomon's uninspired wisdom. It was the Sanhedrin at Jamnia, following the school of Hillel, which decided that those books are inspired, and form part of the Canon.¹

OLD TESTAMENT REFERENCES TO JAMNIA.

1. Joshua xv, 11. *Jabneel*.

The city is only mentioned here, and in chap. xix, 33, under this name. It is not found among the lists of the cities of Judah, Dan, or Simeon in the book of Joshua. There is no sign of its ever having been occupied by Judah.

2. 2 Chronicles xxvi, 6. *Jabneh*.

Under this name the city was captured from the Philistines by King Uzziah, and its wall was broken down. It is not mentioned in the canonical books after this catastrophe, unless, as Sir Charles Warren suggests, *Quarterly Statement of P.E.F.*, July, 1875, p. 181, that it is the same as Libnah, for the Jabneel of the Old Testament is given as Lebna in the LXX.

The modern village of Yebna, or more accurately Ibna, about eleven miles south of Jaffa, stands on the ruins of the city of Jamnia. It is situated about two miles from the sea, and rises above the general level of the rolling plain of Philistia. In modern days the encroaching sand has swallowed up the once productive sea-board. But the fertility of the surrounding field and grove helps us to understand its repute in days gone by, of populousness.

DEUTERO-CANONICAL BOOKS—REFERENCES TO JAMNIA.

1. Judith ii, 28.—*Jemnaan*.

The city is thus spoken of here as in fear and dread of Holofernes, the chief captain of the army of Nebuchadrezzar, the arch-enemy of the Jews.

2. 1 Maccabees iv, 15; v, 58; x, 69; xv, 40.—*Jamnia*.

In its Greek form the city is known as Jamnia. It is referred to as a strong garrison, and according to Josephus,

¹ *Dictionary of Christian Biography*: art. "Gamaliel II," Vol. II, p. 607.

Ant., XII, 8, 6, Georgias was its governor. During the wars of the Maccabees it played a conspicuous part in later Jewish history.

3. 2 Maccabees xii, 8, 9, 40.—*The Jamnites*.

The inhabitants having intended to drown the Jews, Judas Maccabaeus set fire to the haven and navy of Jamnia, so that the light of the fire was seen at Jerusalem, a distance of about twenty-five miles. At this time there was a harbour on the coast. This harbour is also mentioned by Pliny under the name of Maioumas.

The city itself did not come into the possession of the Jews under Simon. It was Alexander Jannaeus who made it a portion of the Jewish territory.—*Ant.*, XIII, 15, 4.

JOSEPHUS—REFERENCES TO JAMNIA.

Ant., V, 1, 22, and XII, 8, 6.—*Jamnia*.

Josephus describes the city as belonging to the tribe of Dan, and as being one of the most populous places in Palestine.

Strabo, the ancient Greek geographer, c. 55 B.C. A.D. 25, records that this portion of Palestine was so densely populated that Jamnia and its neighbourhood were able to furnish 40,000 fighting men.

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Hastings: *A Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III, p. 607, art. "Council of Jamnia," 1898.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS TAKEN IN THE CITY OF JERUSALEM,¹
MONTHLY MEANS.
By AMELPHI DATZI, Jerusalem.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

89

Barome- ter.	Alt. Ther.	Thermometers.				Rain.	Direction of Wind and Duration in Days.								
		Max.	Min.	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.		Days.	N.	N.E.	E.	S.E.	S.	S.W.	W.	N.W.
January ...	27.529	61	40.5	46.9	44.5	6.270	19	0	4	2	0	0	11	5	9
February ...	27.463	52	40.3	47.8	44.2	5.950	13	1	0	4	1	2	14	0	6
March ...	27.503	62	45.1	54.1	48.3	2.240	6	2	7	7	2	0	4	1	8
April ...	27.426	61	50	63.9	57.4	2.340	6	2	0	3	5	4	2	7	7
May ...	27.434	65	55.4	68.1	60.8	0.280	1	2	1	1	1	0	5	1	20
June ...	27.461	70	50.9	59.7	74.4	70.7	...	...	1	0	0	0	2	2	24
July ...	27.426	73	81.9	62.5	74.8	61.2	...	...	1	1	0	0	5	3	21
August ...	27.426	73	82.9	64.7	76.3	72	...	...	4	0	0	0	1	8	18
September ...	27.497	74	83.7	64.4	77	64	...	...	6	6	0	0	2	1	15
October ...	27.542	70	77.8	61.6	71.5	62.1	0.400	2	5	8	1	1	0	2	2
November ...	27.537	61	63.6	50.9	58.7	53.7	1.210	10	0	3	4	2	0	6	9
December ...	27.539	52	51.6	41.6	49.4	45.2	6.820	15	0	2	5	2	3	13	1
Year ...	27.431	62	69.6	53	63.5	57.5	25.510	72	24	32	28	14	9	67	37
															15 $\frac{1}{4}$

¹ The observations were taken at 9 A.M., at a height of about 2,500 feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea, with the barometer corrected for index error, not for temperature or elevation.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Early Weights and Measures of Mankind, by General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G., etc. Published by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, 1913.

In this slender volume of less than 140 pages, Sir Charles Warren undertakes the herculean task of tracing nearly all existing weights and measures to their origins in the early days of mankind. Almost from the first page onwards — more particularly in the first chapter — the book bristles with statements that challenge either a simple contradiction, or at least to further enquiry and the production of further evidence. Doubtless the learned author, conscious of the originality of so many of his views, is prepared for a considerable amount of dissent. Unfortunately, the subject and its treatment are so technical that it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to state in briefer compass than in the book itself the processes by which from the earliest of all weight standards — the *rati*, or seed of the wild liquorice — the higher denominations of weight and the other standards of volume, etc., have been evolved. Sir Charles works first of all by a combination of binary systems based respectively on 4, 64, 80 and 100 of the primary unit. These he terms the Ganda, octaval, octogintal and decimal systems. By highly technical processes, including the squaring of the circle and the determination of the value of π , the calculation of the diameter of the earth and the measurement of an arc of the meridian in Babylonia, and in particular by the hypothesis of a standard of volume equal to the double cubit cubed, we are introduced to a bewildering succession of standards both of weights and measures.

The present writer, whether it is that he is no mathematician, or by reason of mental obtuseness, has to confess that ever since he began to study the problems of ancient metrology, he has been extremely sceptical on the subject of the determination of the early standards by such anticipations of the scientific methods of the authors of the French metric system.

Leaving this debateable question of origins, we note that Sir Charles finds that about the time of the First Egyptian Dynasty a radical change in weight systems took place, a change from what, in terms of his system, he calls binary measures, to sextarial measures. Here, as elsewhere throughout the book, there is a mass of metrological material that deserves careful study, and that requires as careful sifting. It is impossible here to enter into details, but the student's attention is directed to Tables IX and X, where the results are presented in tabular form, and alternative derivations suggested not only for familiar ancient weights such as the Attic mina and the Roman pound, but for our own Troy pound and the old Tower pound. Attention may also be called to the author's view that there have been only six kinds of shekel of the values here given (p. 40). Here we find a new derivation of the wide-spread Phoenician (or as it here is also called, late Gudean) shekel. Given an original value of 225 O.G.T.—original Troy grains—it is entered as $\frac{9}{16}$ of the Gudean shekel, No. 5 in the list, of which the value is given as “the weight of 1 cubic inch of water, 250” grains.

The short discussion which follows on Hebrew weights (pp. 47 f.) seems to introduce unnecessary complications. I am glad, however, to observe that Sir Charles Warren recognizes the presence in Palestine of the Eginetan standard, specimens of which I described in a recent study of “Inscribed Hebrew Weights from Palestine” (*Expository Times*, XXIV (1913), pp. 489-491). With reference to Tables XVI and XVII, the former based on Petrie's results in his “Inductive Metrology,” I would call Sir Charles's attention to the only Hebrew cubit which can be determined inductively. Working to a large extent on materials supplied by Sir Charles's own works on Jerusalem, I have found that Herod's masons worked with a cubit of 17.6 inches, the numbers for certain specified measurements in the temple enclosure, gates, etc., coming out exactly without a fraction (*Expository Times*, XX (1908), pp. 24 ff.).

Passing over Chapter III, which deals with Attic, Roman and Moslem weights and measures, where the documentary evidence, archaeological and literary, is more abundant, we come to one of the most interesting and instructive chapters of the book, Chapter IV, “Early Weights and Measures of Northern Europe and Britain, and the Measures from Prehistoric Remains.” With regard to the former and more important part of this discussion, the relation of

mediaeval and modern European standards to those of antiquity, it is to be regretted that our learned author has not, apparently, made the acquaintance of the numerous essays on this subject by Dr. C. F. Lehmann, now Prof. Lehmann-Haupt of Liverpool.

As to the validity of the results obtained in the fifth chapter on the weights and measures of India and the Far East, I am unable to express an opinion. Here, however, as elsewhere throughout the volume, there is a mass of facts and figures which will be of the greatest value to future students of Indian metrology.

Of the book as a whole it may be said with perfect frankness that however sceptical one may feel with regard to many of the conclusions reached by its erudite author, every student is deeply indebted to him for the vast collection of metrological data here registered. Recognition is also due, in no stinted measure, of the infinite labour that lies behind the thousands of mathematical calculations, some of them of a highly technical character, and the elaborate and skilfully constructed tables of comparative weights and measures, forty-three in number, which are a feature of the book.

Let it be said in conclusion that it is dedicated "to the memory of the much esteemed and valued friend of a lifetime, Claude Reignier Conder, LL.D."

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

The Latest Light on Bible Lands, by P. S. P. Handcock, M.A.,
Lecturer of the Palestine Exploration Fund, etc., etc. (London :
S.P.C.K.)

This small octavo volume contains an amount of information regarding the more recent archaeological discoveries which bear upon Old Testament history that might readily have filled a much larger book: but the matter is wisely condensed so as to form a handbook to the study of the subject, which the footnotes facilitate; while to the ordinary reader the author offers sufficient typical examples of archaeological evidence, with the explanation of their value to Biblical History, to encourage him to further pursuit. But the reader needs to keep his attention very wide awake, so extensive are the areas to which the interest extends and the periods of time covered; so little, on the other hand, has been known until recent times of their ancient history, of their political relations with each other, or of the influences which produced or affected those

relations. It is often a tangled web. These great empires of Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt, each for long periods dominating the known world, pursuing aggrandisement by conquest, becoming rivals in power, all overshadowed Palestine, which lay between them. As the power of each waxed or waned, so Palestine felt the influence of that power, exercised usually with no gentle hand.

Mr. Handcock begins his work by a brief explanation of the evolution of the cuneiform writing, and by tracing Babylonian history from earliest times. He then adduces the remarkable parallel between the Babylonian legend of a flood and the description of Noah's flood in Genesis.

This chapter is headed "Babylonia, the Native land of Abraham." He came from "Ur of the Chaldees." The author shows, from modern researches, that the city of "Ur" was in existence well before 3000 B.C., and more than a thousand years before Khammu-rabi (Amraphel), Abraham's contemporary. In the following chapter, "The Hebrews before the Exodus," the author instances the many parallels between the laws of Khammu-rabi and the Mosaic law: and gives reasons for supposing that Joseph and his brethren were in Egypt in the period of the "Shepherd Kings." Again, he refers to the excavations of M. Naville as going to prove that the store-city, Pithom, built by Rameses II (near the modern Tell el-Kebir), was one of the scenes of the oppression of the Hebrews, and that the general evidence goes to show that the Hebrew Exodus, described in the Bible, took place in that reign or in that of his successor, Menephthah. He, however, refers to other views on this subject. As to the question of the route of the Exodus, that must still remain open. It is quite possible that the survey of the country south of Beersheba, now in progress for the Palestine Exploration Fund, may throw new light on this.

The "Tell el-Amarna" letters are discussed and their value pointed out, especially as regards the political relations between Egypt and Palestine at the time of Amenhetep (c. 1400 B.C.), to whom many of them were addressed by his district governors, in provinces or cities of Palestine, and in Babylonish characters.

The many monuments and inscriptions which have more or less connection with the events spoken of in the Old Testament as occurring during the Jewish monarchy are amply illustrated and explained in the chapter headed "Israel in Canaan," after which

many pages are devoted to the modern excavations in Palestine by this and other Societies. The more important results of these excavations are noted, and the historical value of their evidence briefly explained.

Mr. Handcock's book should be of great assistance to those who desire to obtain a general insight into the relation of modern discovery to Biblical History.

J. D. C.

Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale, Tome V., Fasc. 2.

Prof. Ronzevalle has made a careful examination of the Gezer Tablet at the Ottoman Museum in Constantinople, and has published the result of his studies in an admirable article accompanied by four plates which practically place the student in the same position as if he had the original before him. The inscribed face has been photographed in two different lights, so as to bring out every detail of the surface. There is also an excellent pen tracing of the inscription itself and a photograph of the reverse.

Prof. Ronzevalle does not consider that the tablet is a palimpsest. The only thing approaching such a phenomenon is the correction made by the scribe himself in line 5 which is perfectly recognisable, and there is no remaining indication that the surface ever bore any other text. Furthermore, he considers it a mistake to suppose that the hand which traced these lines was an inexperienced one. The anomalies and irregularities are merely what might, naturally, be expected from a scribe who might be accustomed to rapid and graceful writing with the reed pen, but who found it awkward to trace characters with a point upon such an unaccustomed surface as this little limestone tablet. The chief peculiarity which strikes the Professor is the appearance of the *mem*, which has a distinct extra initial stroke in both instances, a characteristic unique in Semitic epigraphy, and he expresses surprise that this circumstance should have escaped the notice of every previous observer and even that of Dr. Lidzbarski. It is somewhat misleading to speak of this little monument as a "calendar." It contains nothing more than a list of the succession of agricultural operations in the district of Gezer, and there is no reason to regard any one of them as being in any sense the local name for one of the months. In contradistinction to Father Vincent, Prof. Ronzevalle holds the most frequent character upon the stone to be a *rau* and not a *nun*, but he does not agree

with Dr. Lidzbarski in the view that this is to be explained as *rar compaginis*, which is merely an artificial construction found in poetical passages of the Old Testament. The sixth character of line 4 appears in the photographs and in the cast of the inscription much more like a *he* than like a *resh*, and if it be a *he* it is the ordinary definite article which thus excludes the *rar compaginis*.

As regards the object of the inscription, Prof. Ronzevalle rejects the idea that it could have been intended for public exhibition because, as he points out, the object is so small that the letters upon it are barely distinguishable at a yard distance. He calls special attention to the surface of the stone, which has been worked and polished into something like a "pillow" shape, comparable in every respect with the form of the clay tablets upon which cuneiform texts are traced. This seems to indicate that the Gezer inscription was more of the character of a despatch or missive intended to be passed from a chief to a subordinate and preserved in the Archives.

The final and perhaps the most difficult problem is the date of this Gezer text. Mr. Stanley A. Cook in *Q.S.*, 1909, p. 309, regarded the palaeographic evidence as pointing to some time after the seventh century. Prof. Ronzevalle contests this view, because the Gezer alphabet obviously belongs to an earlier stage than that of the Siloam inscription, which is identical in the forms of its characters with those found upon the fragments of pottery discovered by M. Morgan at Susa in a stratum anterior to the Achemenian invasion of Elam in the last years of the seventh century. This would tend to place the Gezer inscription in the eighth century, if not in the ninth, as already suggested by Dr. Lidzbarski and Prof. Buchanan Gray.

Prof. Jouon continues his lexicographical notes on the Hebrew Bible, and makes some interesting observations in regard to textual criticism. Prof. Chaino discusses the original text of the *Verba Seniorum*, a document of the highest importance, for the study of the early history of the Church in Egypt. He shows that this was primarily a Greek composition translated at a later period into the Coptic and other languages. Prof. Ronzevalle concludes his full and learned disquisition on *L'Style Funéraire en Syrie*, and describes several little-known Phoenician monuments preserved in the Museum at Constantinople.

E. J. PILCHER.

מטבעות היהודים : *Coins of the Jews: A History of Jewish Coinage in Classic Hebrew*, by Samuel Raffaeli. Jerusalem, 1913, 8vo, vi, 199 pp., 35 plates. Table of Alphabets (*International Buch und Kunsthantlung*: Jerusalem and Leipzig. Price 7.50 francs.)

The literature of classical Hebrew is no longer confined almost exclusively to religious and devotional matters, but is being extended to many subjects of general interest. This is not surprising, seeing that the ancient tongue is the common bond of the numerous Jewish communities scattered in various parts of the world; and it was therefore a happy idea on the part of Mr. Raffaeli of Jerusalem to bring out a series of volumes dealing with Jewish Antiquities, which should more strongly appeal to Hebrew readers by being in their common language; and it need hardly be said that Mr. Raffaeli's enthusiasm for archaeology and his grasp of the subject render him a trustworthy and informing guide. His last work in classical Hebrew was devoted to the monumental illustrations of early Jewish history, and the present volume deals with the equally interesting department of Jewish Numismatics. It is not an easy study, for ancient coinage is surrounded with its own special problems, and there are some very debateable points connected with Hebrew numismatology. We may confidently look forward to the solution of many of them when we have the British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of Palestine, which is rapidly nearing completion under the care of Mr. G. F. Hill, whose views will undoubtedly be accepted as those of a recognised authority. In the meantime there is ample scope for differences of opinion.

Mr. Raffaeli commences with a sketch of the literature upon the Jewish coinage, ranging from the somewhat wild guesses of mediaeval scholars to the standard works of Madden, Reinach, and Hamburger; and the recent articles in the encyclopaedias, more especially the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. He then proceeds to the ancient systems of metrology, more especially the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian. No essay on this subject is now complete without a reference to the series of weights with Hebrew inscriptions which have been brought to light during the last twenty-five years through the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and have been discussed in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1912, in Mr. Macalister's *Excavation of Gath*, and more recently by Prof. Kennedy in the *Expository Times* of August and September, 1913.

The consideration of the ancient systems of metrology leads on to the story of the invention of coinage, the earliest coins familiar to the Jews being the daries of the Persian kings. These were followed by the issues of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids; and under the Hasmonean dynasty we meet with coins bearing inscriptions in the Hebrew language and the Old Hebrew character.

Mr. Raffaeli assigns to Simon Maccabeus the well-known silver pieces with the lily and the chalice, and the words "Shekel of Israel." Also any copper coins which happen to be inscribed *Simon nasi Israel* (Simon Prince of Israel), and those marked *Shevatsh shelosh* (Year three) and *Shevatsh arba* (Year four). He does not allow any coinage to the First Revolt; but gives the whole of the balance to the Second Revolt under Bar-Cochba, who is thus limited to two years of issue. This arrangement is somewhat unsatisfactory from a numismatic point of view because, for instance, we meet with two coins of identical appearance, and having the same types, and the same obverse inscription; and yet one is assigned to Maccabeus because it bears on the reverse *Simon nasi Israel*; and the other is attributed to Bar-Cochba because it has on the reverse *Jerusalem*. One would imagine that they were coeval, and not that they were separated by a term of three centuries.

The small copper coins of the Hasmonean princes are well illustrated; but as they all bear the names of the issuers, there is no question about them. We also have a full list of the pieces bearing the names of the Herodian dynasty; and the long series of the Procurators of Judaea. The admirably illustrated work closes with plates of all extant issues of the Roman Colony of Aelia Capitolina, including a new coin of Marcus Aurolius which was not known to Mr. Madden.

E. J. P.

Nazareth of To-day, by Frederic John Seringeour (of Nazareth), with 75 photographs by the Author. (Edinburgh and London: William Green, 1913.)

The author, who acts as Hon. Secretary for this Society in his locality, has produced, in this book, a simple and interesting record of the habits and customs of the people among whom he lives; and he has done this at a time when such habits and customs still retain much of their traditional character, while it is evident that they are becoming yearly more subject to external European influence. It has the same interest, on a more limited scale, as Lane's "Modern

Egyptians" of some sixty or seventy years ago; and like that well-known work, probably records much that half a century will obliterate.

Only long residence among a people can enable a writer to acquire that full knowledge of their daily lives which is necessary for such a record, and then only if he lives in frequent contact and sympathy with them.

Mr. Scrimgeour, as Surgeon of the local Mission Hospital, has had the requisite opportunities of observing, and the discretion and kindness to gain the confidence of those among whom he lived. These are partly Moslems, and the rest Christians of many denominations.

He describes first the position of the town and character of its buildings; and then under such headings as "Trades," "Seasons," "Households," "Bazaars," "Health," "Babyhood," and the customs connected with Marriage, Funerals, Recreations, he illustrates, simply and succinctly, the details of daily life. One other item, not the least interesting, is the "Cooking," as to which Mrs. Scrimgeour has collected a series of native recipes.

Altogether, in little over a hundred pages of text, the author has written a very clear and interesting account of the daily lives of the people; and has done so picturesquely and, be it added, with a charming modesty.

The many photographs, well selected as to subject, add to the value of the book.

J. D. C.

Bacon's New Contour Map of the Near and Middle East—(The Land of the Five Seas).

We have received from Messrs. G. W. Bacon and Co., Ltd., of 127, Strand, a copy of this useful and clear map, recently issued as the latest of their series of school maps. This one is of a convenient size for reference, 32 by 42 inches, to a scale of 95 miles to the inch. It is coloured by contours, the various physical characteristics of any part being thus simply indicated. It includes the Empires of Babylon, Persia, Parthia, Egypt, and Rome, but makes no attempt at demarcation of frontier; only a few more important cities are shown. Inset on the larger map is a map of Palestine in which the rift Valley of the Jordan and Dead Sea, the Mountains of Judon, the Peak of Hermon, and the Plains of Sharon are clearly illustrated.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A New Hebrew Weight.—Mr. Samuel Raffaeli has obtained another small Hebrew weight, bearing the inscription פִּסְךָ. This is the third known specimen. It was discovered by a *fellah* at *Silwan*, near Jerusalem. It is of the usual domed shape, is composed of reddish stone, and weighs 7.75 grammes, *i.e.*, 119.5 grains: the other two specimens weighing 117.43 and 112.19 grains respectively.

Mr. Raffaeli desires to direct attention to the fact that פִּסְךָ occurs in the Old Testament as an *apax legomenon* in the very difficult passage 1 Sam. xiii. 21, where it has hitherto been thought to represent the plural of *peh*, “mouth,” although, in the only other instance where the plural is found, it has another form (פִּיסְתָּה, Prov. v, 4; compare בִּפְזִוָּה). In their renderings of this verse, the Septuagint and Vulgate differ entirely from the English Version, and the verse is generally regarded as textually corrupt. Mr. Raffaeli, on the basis of the Septuagint, which suggests a slight emendation of the text, would read: וְהִיְתָה הַפְּצִירָה פִּסְךָ—לְמִהְרָשָׁת וְלְאַתִּים וְשִׁלְיָשׁ הַשְּׁקֵל לְהַקְרְדִּים וְלְהַנְּבֵב הַדְּרָבָן and translate: “And the payment was a *payam* for the mattocks and for the coulters, and a third of a shekel for the axes, and to sharpen the goads.” The word הַפְּצִירָה, which the old Jewish commentators conjectured to mean a “file,” is far more likely to be a derivative of פְּצַר, “to urge,” and Mr. Raffaeli proposes to take it, as above, in the sense of “fee” or “payment.”

E. J. PILCHER.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.
HEBREW.

HEBREW.	ENGLISH.	HEBREW.	ENGLISH.
א	a	ל	l
ב	b	מ	m
בָּ	bh	נ	n
גָּ	g	ס	s
גָּ	gh	שׁ	sh
דָּ	d	ר	r
דָּ	dh	פָּ	p
הָ	h	פְּ	f
וָ	v, w	צָ	z
זָ	z	קָ	kh
חָ	h	צְ	ts
תָּ	t	שְׁ	sh
יָ	y	תְּ	t
ךָ	k	שְׁ	th

ARABIC.

ARABIC.	ENGLISH.	ARABIC.	ENGLISH.
ب	b	ب	d
ت	t	ت	tz
ث	th	ث	z
ج	g	ج	gh
ح	h	ح	f
خ	kh	خ	k
د	d	د	k
ذ	dh	ذ	l
ر	r	ر	m
ز	z	ز	n
س	s	س	h
ش	sh	ش	w
س		س	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE forty-ninth Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held on 16th June, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres in the chair. Dr. Gurney Masterman gave an excellent address on the recent work of the Society; his lecture was illustrated with lantern slides, and greatly appreciated. Captain Newcombe followed with an account of his survey in the south of Palestine; he gave a number of typical views, and brought out the interest of the investigations for Bible scenes and characters. The Chairman drew attention to the many valuable pieces of work for which the Fund has been responsible, and reminded the audience of the necessity of greater support in the future in order that the investigations may be carried out over a larger field. A full account of the Meeting is given in this issue.

En Memoriam

**WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT, LL.D., D.C.L.,
Litt.D.**

(Born 1st August, 1831—Died 19th May, 1914.)

The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund deeply regret to record the death of a most valued member of the Executive. Dr. William Aldis Wright was well-known everywhere as Secretary

of the Old Testament Revision Committee, as author and editor of Shakesperian and other works, and as a Biblical scholar of high rank. He was always greatly interested in the Fund, and his very wide experience made him a most helpful colleague. "Aldis Wright," to give him his familiar title, has been described as one of the three courtliest men in England, he was also one of the kindest; and many can bear witness to his unobtrusive forethought and generosity. It is a sad coincidence that the three—Driver, Ginsburg, and Aldis Wright—have passed away within a short time of one another (see *Q.S.*, p. 49). All were great Biblical scholars and were associated in the revision of the Old Testament, and the two latter—who were born in the same year—were closely joined together in many ways.

The Palestine Exploration Fund regrets to announce it has suffered yet another loss in the recent sudden death of Sir John Gray Hill, on Friday, 19th June. He was a member of the General Committee. He was a great traveller, and spent much of his time in Palestine; indeed, some years ago he was captured by Arabs and wrote a book on his experiences "Among the Beduins." In the July number of the *Q.S.*, of 1900, he first drew attention to the rise of the level of the Dead Sea, and the January issue of this year contained a valuable summary, from his pen, on the subject. He was born in 1839, and was a nephew of the Postal Reformer, Mr. Rowland Hill.

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the (3 in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in six sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete six sheets will be 12s. 6*d.*, or separate sheets may be purchased at 2*s.* 6*d.* each. If desired, the map can be mounted on linen and a roller, or to fold. It will be ready for issue during this summer.

Prof. Camden M. Coborn, who has been travelling in Palestine, gives an interesting illustrated account, in the *Homiletic Review* (February), of the "Most Recent Excavations in Palestine." He observes that even the last half-dozen years—not to speak of the earlier work—"have made possible such new insight into the life of Palestine during the Monarchy, and even earlier, that the time seems almost ripe for an archaeological commentary on the historic narratives of Scripture. Yet nothing has been discovered comparable to what might have been realized if the societies at work there had been adequately supported.... Why men with money to invest for the furtherance of scientific knowledge do not make it possible for excavations in the Holy Land to be conducted in a thorough and exhaustive fashion is an unfathomable mystery. No soil in the world, not even that of Egypt, offers a treasure-trove more valuable from the Biblical point of view than that to be found here. No possible discoveries concerning early Cretan or Babylonian or Ethiopian history, no excavation elsewhere of artistic creations or written records, could equal such discoveries when made in the birth-land of Judaism and Christianity—pre-eminently the land of the Bible."

Excavations have been in progress at Shechem under Dr. Sellin, but no report as yet has come under our notice. It is understood that the old city-wall has been discovered.

The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews are to publish Archdeacon Dowling's illustrated book entitled *The City of Sufit: A Refuge of Judaism*. The book has an introduction by the Bishop in Jerusalem and will be 1s. net. We regret to hear that the Archdeacon has felt obliged, owing to ill-health, to leave Palestine. Dr. Donald A. Coles, English Hospital, Haifa, has kindly consented to act in his stead as Honorary Secretary for Haifa. The Archdeacon proposes to enlarge and publish in more permanent form his articles on "The Episcopal Succession in Jerusalem," which appeared in the *Q.S.* of October, 1913, and January, 1914. He is anxious to make his *Notitia* more correct and complete, and for this will be glad to receive any suggestions. His temporary postal address is c/o Henry Rougier, Esq., 49, St. Mary Axe, London, E.C.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains about 200 duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, £1.5s.; unbound, 3s. 6d.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2,000}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3s. Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10,000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5s.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6s. 9d. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10s. 6d. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions early in the year, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1913 is given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6s., by post 6s. 4d.

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6s. The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary General Secretary for Palestine, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, will give all information necessary.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Scenic Studies of the Bible Background, from the Authoress, Miss S. M. Nicholls.

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. XXXVI, Parts 2-4: The Amorite Personal Names in Gen. xiv, by the Rev. W. T. Piltz; etc.

Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, VI, 4.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, April, 1914.

Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy and Science, Vol. III, No. 9.

The American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XVIII, 1 (1914).

The Jewish Quarterly Review, April, 1914: An Egyptian Document for the History of Palestine, by Prof. W. Max Müller.

The Homiletic Review, 1914: Most Recent Excavations in Palestine (Feb.), Kadesh-Barnea (April and May), by Prof. C. M. Gobern.

The Biblical World, May, 1914: An Appreciation of the late Prof. Driver, by Prof. Francis Brown.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, XXXVII, 1 and 2, 1914 : Record of a Journey in Palestine, by Dr. T. Kühtreiber ; Work in E. Jordan, by Dr. Schumacher ; Studies by Prof. Dalman ; Reports by Dr. Thiersch and Dr. Thomesen ; etc., etc.

Tiryns, Excavations at, by the Royal German Archaeological Institute of Athens, Vols. I and II (Athens, 1912) : A complete account (in German) of the excavations of the German Institute, comprising the temple of Hera, the necropolis of the "geometrical" period, and the remarkable frescoes of the palace.

Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts : Athenische abteilung, Vols. XXXVI-XXXVIII.

Protokol des XI. Zionisten-Kongresses.

Bethléem—Le Sanctuaire de la Nativité, by Fathers Vincent and Abel, of the École Biblique, Jerusalem. (Lecoffre, Paris, 1914.)

Journal Asiatique, 1913, I-III.

Sphinx, 1914, I and II.

Revue Biblique, April, 1914 : The House of Caiaphas and the Church of St. Peter at Jerusalem, by R. P. Germer-Durand ; Palestinian Nocturnal Birds of Prey, by E. Schmitz ; The Date of the Introduction of Incense into the Cult of Yahweh, by M. van Hoonacker.

Byzantina Chronika, XX, 4 (1913).

NEA ΣΙΩΝ. March-April.

Al-Mashriq : Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle ; Arabic Poetry among the Trans-Jordanic Tribes, by l'Abbé Paul Salman ; etc., etc.

See also below, pp. 147-155.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire specially to acknowledge with thanks the following valuable contributions to the Library :—

From the late Dr. W. Aldis Wright :—

Domestic Life in Palestine, by E. M. Rogers.

From Mrs. Ross Scott :—

Sketches in the East, by Lady Louisa Tenison.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten*. (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Petrée* (1829).

Prof. E. Huntingdon, *Palestine and its Transformation*. (Constable and Co.)

Père Abel, *Une Croisière autour de la Mer Morte* (1909).

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

THE Forty-Ninth Annual General Meeting was held at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, on Tuesday, June 16th, 1914, at 3.30 p.m., the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, F.S.A., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Honorary Secretary will read certain letters from those unable to attend.

The HON. SECRETARY.—I have letters of regret from the Dean of Ely, the Chief Rabbi, the Marquis of Normanby, Professor George Adam Smith, Mr. James Melrose, the Rev. W. F. Birch, and also, received since I have been in the building, a telegram from Professor H. V. Hilprecht, who says “Invitation for annual meeting just received, too late to attend. May all the great gods from beyond the River Euphrates bless the work of the Society.” I do not think the Dean of Canterbury has been able to attend. He hoped to be able to do so, but he had another engagement so soon after this hour that he has probably been unable to come.

The CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen, the first business of this annual meeting is the adoption of the Report. We then have to re-elect Committees, after reporting on the death of certain members of the General Committee. Subsequently to that formal business we shall have an address on the recent work of the Society from Dr. Masterton, followed by Captain Newcombe’s address on the Survey of Southern Palestine. I now beg to move, and I do so formally, that the Report and Accounts for the year 1913, already printed and in the hands of subscribers, be received and adopted. I will invite the Rev. Arthur Carr to second the motion.

Rev. ARTHUR CARR.—I have much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report.—Carried.

The HON. SECRETARY.—It is always my sad duty, at these meetings, to report a number of losses by death from the General Committee. In the present case we have particularly to lament, not so much an unusual number, as of men of unusual eminence and of value to the Society. We have, among those who have passed away since the last meeting, Lord Sidmouth, who had belonged to the Society for twenty years, Sir Frederick Eaton, as to whom I have a word or two to say afterwards, Dr. Christian Ginsburg, Dr. Driver, and Dr. Aldis Wright, three men who have been among the first scholars of our time as Bible scholars. Dr. Ginsburg was, perhaps, the first Hebrew scholar in the country. They were all three members of that company which were appointed for the revision of the Old Testament thirty years ago, and amongst the most valued scholars. It shows how much this Society has attracted men of ability, that those three men should have been members of our General Committee. Besides them there have also been the Rev. W. J. Stracey-Clitherow; and to-day, since I have been in the building, I have heard of the death of Mr. Serapion Murad, who was of great local value to our work during the execution of the Gezer excavations. A resident on the spot, and a man of considerable ability, he rendered us constant service during the five years that Gezer was being excavated. I should like, for a moment, to refer, as a personal matter, to the loss of Sir Frederick Eaton, who was the Secretary of the Royal Academy of Arts, a near neighbour here. He, for many years, was a constant attendant at our Executive Committees, and it was only since the demands made upon his time as Secretary of the Royal Academy made it impossible for him to attend, that his attendances have diminished. I feel very interested in his membership of the Executive Committee, because he was born in the same year, and was elected on the same day as myself, and that day will be forty-two years hence to-morrow. (Applause.)

Sir CHARLES WATSON.—My lord, ladies and gentlemen, as your lordship has already announced, it is the sad duty on those occasions to refer to the losses we have suffered on the General Committee in the past year; and it now falls to my lot to propose the names of gentlemen to succeed them. We are very fortunate in the Palestine Exploration Fund that we always have a succession of distinguished men who are ready to come and help with the work. The first name is that of yourself, my lord, the Earl of Crawford and

Balcarres, whom we are so pleased to see presiding on this occasion. (Applause.) Then there is Sir Frederic Kenyon, the Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, who took the chair here last year; Dr. Cowley, of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Captain Newcombe, a brother officer of my own of the Royal Engineers, who has just been working so admirably on the Survey in Palestine, continuing that work which was done many years ago by Colonel Conder and Lord Kitchener; Mr. Robert Williams, Architect, of Alexandria, who has helped us with some valuable papers. I propose that these gentlemen be elected members of the General Committee.

Sir HENRY TROTTER.—I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.—Carried.

Rev. A. BIGG-WITHER.—I have very great pleasure indeed in proposing that the Executive Committee, to which this Palestine Exploration Fund owes so much under its genial and able Chairman, Sir Charles Watson, be re-elected.

Colonel FELLOWS.—May I have the honour of seconding that resolution?—Carried.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have now the great satisfaction of asking Dr. Masterman to give us his address on the recent work of the Society.

ADDRESS (with Lantern Slides).

By Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

My lord, ladies and gentlemen. In accepting the suggestion of the Committee that I should have the great honour of addressing you this afternoon, I may say at once that I have no claim to speak to you on the ground of being any judge of the subject of the relation of the work that we are doing to our knowledge of general archaeology, nor can I claim, with the many speakers who have been here before, any special understanding of the bearing of these great discoveries that we have been making on Bible knowledge. My one and only claim must be that for now a period of twenty years it has been my very great privilege to be in touch with the explorers in this Society who have been working in Palestine during that time.

On account of their greatly valued friendships and the pleasant times we have had together, I have been enabled probably more than most, if not all of you in this room, to watch intimately the progress of this work, and my feeling is that whereas it has been a great privilege, I have a pity for those of you who, like myself, are not professed archaeologists, in that you have not yourselves seen what has been done; for, except for the professional expert, it is very difficult to picture how great are the results that have been obtained during all this work. I think, perhaps, the results have been most astonishing in the line of the early occupations of Palestine—I speak in the presence of specialists with great diffidence, but I speak here also to those who are not specialists—and it seems to me that we have obtained an extraordinary insight into that marvellous civilization which existed in Palestine before the coming of the Hebrews. If you have followed the work you have seen how wonderful were those great fortifications which were erected round ancient cities, notably Gezer; how astonishing were those great excavations made, as we understand, many of them with the most primitive instruments, and as far as we can find out, chiefly to reach the water supply of the cities in which they were. For example, that great water tunnel of Gezer is wonderful to read of: it is far more wonderful to go down it. A somewhat similar work, quite as great, though on different lines, existed in Jerusalem, and we find now that in places like ancient Gibeon and at Ibleam there were exactly similar works. And it is not only, I think, the greatness of the architectural work which astonishes us, but it witnesses to what a very high condition of organization the State must have reached, that could produce such works. We realise, indeed, that the people who preceded the Hebrews in Palestine were people who had attained, for their time, to a high state of civilization. Even upon so difficult a subject as their religious beliefs we have had a flood of light thrown by the great discoveries connected with the burial rites and with the great high places, especially that of Gezer. This is not the occasion to go into that fully, but if you consider how much in the dark we were with regard to these facts a few years ago you will see how wonderful is the light that we have now on the subject. But I think there is one special period on which we all feel that light is very much needed: it is the period of the first coming of those nomadic tribes of Hebrews into the land

of Palestine. We see in the archaeological results that their coming distinctly set back the civilization of the period. We can see from such things as the pottery and buildings, and so on, that these desert tribes had not got the high civilization of those whom they replaced ; and we see that while those tribes came from the East, from the land side—the land-loving Hebrews—another set of people were coming from the West—from the sea—almost simultaneously, a people we know as the Philistines, a name which we have associated—quite wrongly—with all that is against culture. Indeed, as far as we can dimly see, the great upholders of culture at that period were those very Philistines. For although the Philistines were enemies of Jehovah they were far from being enemies of culture, and we should very much like to know, and perhaps we may find out, how much the Hebrews owed in those ancient times to their contact with the Philistines. In the Bible there are dim and obscure lights on the subject. Some of you, no doubt, have read those extremely interesting lectures by Professor Macalister on the Philistines, where he puts on record almost everything we know about them. If you have, you will realise how great is our need for more information. It happens, we may say by chance, the Palestine Exploration Fund has, from the very beginning of its work outside the city of Jerusalem, had its energies directed to the corner of Palestine on the borders of the Philistine country. And certainly in the last excavations at Beth Shemesh it was the deliberate desire we should get light on that subject. My hope to-day is that we may proceed without delay, having conquered the outskirts of the territory, to go straight in and attack the citadel itself. There is one site which stands out very prominently, pre-eminently calling for our efforts, and it is probably the finest site for excavation, viz., Ascalon. Dr. Mackenzie and Mr. Newton visited the site, and perhaps when you see their photographs you will realise how great is the opportunity which lies before us. But I should not be doing my duty this afternoon if I did not mention that if there is anything which keeps the Society back it is not want of success ; it is not that they do not realise how great is the opening : it is simply that to embark upon such an undertaking needs a very great backing from the general public. I have seen in Palestine excavations which have made me very sad ; they are excavations which have been begun and never finished, on account of lack of funds. I am glad to say that the tradition of

the Palestine Exploration Fund is not that ; for when we undertake our excavations, as a rule we carry them through ; and I think it would be a great misfortune if we began an excavation like Ascalon without abundant support, and support means not for a year only, but for several years. Otherwise it is like going into a battle unprepared to fight to the end. If we begin excavating a site and then leave off, it is a dismal ruin, we leave a witness of defeat from a scientific point of view, and we make ourselves look ridiculous. And so I hope there will be a great rally on the subject of this new excavation, which I trust will be undertaken very shortly.

I do not know whether it is necessary to say it, but often in the performance of my duty as collector of subscriptions for the Fund, I come across those who imagine that when we have no excavations going on, there is no work being done at all by the Society. And I should like to add that those of us who know more about the work of the Society know that this is not the case. There is very great expense after an excavation is finished : the expense of publishing the results. And, moreover, the Fund is always doing something for the furtherment of the objects for which it exists. For instance, we are very shortly bringing out a new and most valuable map of Western Palestine, on a scale of 3-inch to the mile, a map which has been much in demand. But far more important is this new survey which has been undertaken by Captain Newcombe in the great region south of our Palestine survey and north of the Egyptian frontier, a region which has never been surveyed before : practically an unknown country. We have with us this afternoon Captain Newcombe, and I am sure I express the wishes of all those who are connected with the Fund when I say we hope this will not be his last connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund. We owe an immense debt to the officers of the Royal Engineers : it is hardly necessary for me to quote to you the names of Wilson and Conder, Warren and Kitchener, and Sir Charles Watson, whom we have with us, and I am sure Sir Charles Watson will not mind if I associate with him the name of Mr. Armstrong, who did very good work for us too. To these men we owe an enormous debt, which we hope will only be accumulating, and become greater in the years to come, by fresh members of the Royal Engineers assisting us. Associated with him in his survey he had two distinguished archaeologists, Mr. Woolley and Mr. Lawrence, and the result of that survey will

shortly come out in the Annual, and I am sure we are all impatient to see it. Here it would be impossible to speak of the results in any exhaustive way, but I would touch on two points which are worth mentioning, for they appeal to us all. The first is that the survey has conclusively shown that that region known as the Negeb, and translated in our Old Testament as "the South," was a region of purely nomadic peoples, and that before the Byzantine era there were no settled habitations there. That is the old-fashioned view. You know that a distinguished Oxford professor not long ago put forward a theory that in great part the early history of Israel was centred in that region; and you will find place after place located by him down there in a way which falsified the main results of the Palestine Exploration Fund. I do not suppose many of us advocate such a theory now, for there is no longer any room for holding it, because it has been conclusively shown that the "desert of the wanderings" was actually a hopeless desert for all except wanderers. And the second point is that during the period from, I suppose, the third to the fifth Christian century there was a considerable civilization in that region. There were several cities of no inconsiderable size; and the problem presented to us is this evidence, as maintained by Professor Huntingdon—the writer of the interesting book called "Palestine and its Transformation,"—that the climate has changed during these centuries. I think that is a point on which we want the opinion of those who have been on the spot. It is possible that the people, or many of them, starting monastic establishments there, were prepared to put up with climatic conditions as bad as now, and brave the difficulties of their surroundings; and it is also possible the land was inhabited because it was more habitable, the climate better, the rainfall more plentiful. That is a question to which I hope we shall have an answer shortly.

I should like very briefly to mention other excavations which have been, or we hope will shortly be, taking place in Palestine. There is the great excavation of Sebastieh, which was commenced by Professor Reisner. Some months ago I heard that Professor Reisner was coming back to continue the work, but I am sorry to say that so far the work has not been resumed: I take it that the general feeling will be that when an American Society or a great American University, undertakes such a work they ought to go on with it and finish it, for there is an immense amount to be done yet. So

we hope Professor Reisner may be able to return and carry on the magnificent work of exploration which he began. Secondly, a year ago Professor Sellin, who had excavated Jericho, amongst other places, undertook a small excavation on the very interesting Tel Belata between Ebal and Gerizim, as you turn in to reach the modern city of Nablous. When I was there with Professor Macalister he began to wonder that this was the site of the ancient Sychar, but now Professor Sellin has sunk shafts and made trenches and thus showed that this mound hides walls of extraordinary strength and thickness, and it is more than probable that this is the site of ancient Shechem itself. Professor Sellin went back to Europe to collect funds to start an excavation there, and we shall follow with very great interest the excavation of a site which is so historical, and which will throw so much light on Bible knowledge. Lastly, in Jerusalem, Captain Weil was recently sent out by Baron Rothschild from Paris to excavate the southern part of the hill Ophel. We have not yet the results published, but I think they are of extreme interest. The special object for which he was looking, viz., the tomb of David, I am happy to say he has not yet found. I would mention a word about one important publication which has been coming out but is not yet completed, viz., Père Vincent's great book on Jerusalem, a magnificent monograph illustrated by diagrams and photographs on a scale, such as, I think, has never been previously attempted. It is really a monumental work. And I have in my hand a monograph which, perhaps, will not appeal to all of us, but it illustrates a point; it is on the language of the Nowah or nomad smiths of Palestine. I show you this because it is what we should call, in chemical language, a by-product of the Palestine Exploration Fund work. Our friend, Professor Macalister, was such an embodiment of energy that, though, I believe, no man worked harder for his society than he did, he managed to do a number of other things at the same time. He has collected and recorded here 101 tales. They have never been written before, but were carried on by mouth from generation to generation among the gypsies of Palestine. He has also constructed from these a grammar and vocabulary. This has but little bearing on the object of our work, but it illustrates how, if men have an eye to look out for them, there are many side lights on Palestine which they can find opportunity to take up. I have here a pamphlet which illustrates another point. About a year or so ago, a Scotch naturalist,

Professor Annandale, came from India and spent five weeks in Palestine with the object of examining fresh-water sponges of the Lake of Galilee. During the time he was there, he made a more or less superficial collection of other curiosities, and in those five weeks he found eight entirely new species of invertebrate animals, hitherto unknown; and that shows how much remains to be done along the lines of Natural History in Palestine. I should like very much—and I hope some day it will be done—for the "Fauna and Flora of Palestine" to be brought up to date, and for an accomplished zoologist to be sent out to pick up a great amount of what has been left undone along those lines. I take it, however, that most of you here are especially interested in the bearing of this work on our Bible knowledge, and on those lines, I think, there is also very much that we need to have done. I do not know whether many of you have had occasion to examine what I may call the material from which our Bible maps are made, the material on which we identify the various Old Testament and New Testament sites. I think if you have, you will find that a great many of those sites rest upon extremely slender evidence; some of them have nothing more than a superficial likeness in the modern name to that of the ancient. When Dr. Bliss, for example, many years ago, undertook the exploration of the city of Sandahannah, it must have been months before he came to the conclusion that this city was the great Jewish city of Maréshah, a very important one which was fortified by Rehoboam; and the reason was that in the neighbourhood there was a Khurbet Marash which seemed to echo the old name. All over the country we have sites which have been identified for such reasons. If you take your Memoirs of the Fund and look you will see all that is said about many of them is "cisterns, caves and ruins," or something of that sort. I think we ought to do a great deal to verify these places, these sites of ancient cities. A roving expedition with an accomplished archaeologist who knows the pottery of the various periods could, in 50 per cent. of the cases, give a positive answer whether these are or are not the sites which they are claimed to be. Let me give you two small illustrations of this. You all know how much dispute there has been as to the site of Capernaum. Recently three places have each been claimed to be the true site of the city of Capernaum. I went some years ago—and you will excuse the personal note, because to me what I have witnessed is of more interest than

what I have read—I went some years ago with Professor Macalister to this spot, and we had before us the three claimants. History and literature could not determine which was the true site. But when we wandered over the site, Professor Macalister was able to show that Khan Minyeh was a site which showed no evidence of occupation before the Arab period, and the remains were Arab remains ; the Roman remains being only those of a few scattered houses. But on the hill above, Tel Oreimeh, except for a few modern pottery fragments immediately under the surface, the latest remains were of pre-Israelite times ; there was nothing which could belong to the Roman or even to Hebrew times. When we went to Tel Hûm we found all the remains belonged to the Roman period except a few modern ruins on the surface. Therefore the witness of archaeology was of far more value than the discussions which had taken place on purely literary and historical grounds. If you have been reading the *Quarterly Statements* you will have seen recently an instance of the same thing. A distinguished contributor to our Society who has done very much in the past in illuminating the geography of Palestine, conceived the idea that Gibeah of Saul was situated on a hill not far north of Jerusalem, known as Khurbet Adasch. And this idea which he evolved in his study and felt extremely convinced about from the text of the Bible, was not at first put to any test. But, at last, Mr. Crace, I think it was, asked me if I would go with the foreman of the Palestine Exploration Fund and examine the site. When we went to Khurbet Adasch there was no evidence of occupation of the site before Roman times, but to make assurance doubly assured we sank a pit down to the rock, and found nothing there except Roman pottery. Another site had been identified as Gibeah of Saul for many years, viz., Tel el Fûl ; and there we found, upon the surface, a great quantity of pottery which belonged to the Hebrew period. As Professor Macalister did not think Tel el Fûl was the site of Gibeah, I gathered a big packet of pottery and sent it to him. And his answer was that it was clear evidence that the city had been a Hebrew city, and there was strong presumptive evidence that it was of ancient Hebrew times. I mention this because I think there is much to be done on these lines, and I think Bible students would be extremely grateful if the Palestine Exploration Fund would verify these sites or show that they are possible or impossible sites, and so make the way clear for other proposals.

I have now to show you some pictures to illustrate some of the points concerning the excavations.

We have here the pillars of the high place at Ain Shems which Dr. Mackenzie uncovered in the later times of his exploration. You see the workmen carrying baskets of earth. I have two photographs of this high place. It was not like the high place of Gezer, where most of the monoliths were standing, and were very much larger. But you see three, and the third is broken across. The others are less distinct. The fact of these coming together in one area was strongly suggestive that this was the site of a high place, and underneath there was a sacred cave. Here is another view. It is somewhat disappointing, but it is the way most high places in Palestine will be found, with the monoliths thrown down; it was marvellous to find at Gezer monoliths standing, as the feeling among the later Jews was so strong against these pillars.

Here you see the southern gateway at Beth Shemesh. Inside these buildings were chambers, which may have been prisons, and they were reached from the upper part. There is an entrance 12 feet wide and the gateway is 30 feet in depth. It dated back to about 2000 B.C. and existed during the first and second city. It seems that during the Jewish period the site of the gateway was built over, and as far as excavations were made, it seems likely that Beth Shemesh was not a fortified city during the Jewish time, though the fortifications in the earlier periods were very extensive.

Here you see the entrance of the great well. It was very fascinating to see this well, and we were anxious to clear it out. But after going down 65 feet and apparently being no nearer to the bottom, Dr. Mackenzie desisted, the special reason being that the stones at the mouth were very insecure and there was a likelihood that we might have an accident. Ain Shems means the "Spring of the Sun." There is no spring in the neighbourhood, and no evidence of a surface spring anywhere near the city. But I think this well reached an underground source of water, and that may be a reason for the name.

Here is a photograph of an area which Dr. Mackenzie uncovered which had been devoted to the manufacture of olive oil. These curious jars, which were turned up in many of the excavations were found in such numbers over this area as to suggest that this special shaped jar was used for the manufacture and storage

of oil. And there were little jars out of which the oil could be taken and measured off, no doubt for selling.

In this view you see a series of steps going down into this hollowed-out part, and there opened to five sets of tombs. You can see the stones which were used for closing the mouth of the tombs. From the evidence of the pottery which was found, these tombs were proved to belong to the time of the Hebrew monarchy. One saucer had a Hebrew inscription on it.

Here I show you a general view of Ascalon. Ascalon is on the sea shore, and the remains are all enclosed within the ruined walls of Crusading times. The area within the walls is covered with palm trees and an immense quantity of sand, and it looked very hopeless to attempt excavation there. Dr. Mackenzie's and Mr. Newton's visit has been of value, because they have demonstrated that the site of the ancient city of Ascalon only occupies a small part of the enclosed area. The projections which you see sticking out are not cannon, but are old columns which have been used to strengthen the walls along the sea front.

Here is the appearance of the Philistine Ascalon standing on a rock, and all these upper portions represent layer after layer of ancient civilization. Here the sea has been quite friendly and has taken away sufficient to reveal the various layers. At Tel el Hesy the river made a similar excavation and led to the explorers undertaking that exploration. Here I show you a diagram of this natural section made by Mr. Newton. We have some traces of late Arabic deposits, and Crusading deposits, and then of Arabic conquest, and then we have a Byzantine layer. Then we get into the layers which most interest us, the Roman and the Philistine and the Canaanite and the Pre-Semitic. Some of this diagram is a little theoretical. You may ask how can you make such a scheme? It was made by taking out pieces of pottery at these different layers and reading as to dates from the evidence of the pottery.

I have, to finish with, some pictures which show something with which I am personally identified in connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund. Here are two pictures showing the rock at Ain Fekhah on which is cut the datum line from which to measure the level of the Dead Sea. We had to go along the shore, an extremely hot rugged walk, for half an hour after we left our horses, before we could find a suitable place. Here you see

a vast mass of conglomerate rock which has fallen from the cliff above, and presented a convenient surface for measurement. We tested our measurements by taking them also on these other rocks. Here are the results, which you can see in the *Quarterly Statement*, so I will not explain them now. The difference between the lowest measurement we had on October 26th, 1904, and the highest on April 15th, 1911, is about 6 feet. The change of level depends largely on the rainfall. But I will direct your attention for further information to the *Quarterly Statement* of October, 1913.

I will now ask Captain Newcombe to show his own views.

Captain NEWCOMBE.—My lord, ladies and gentlemen, these views belong to Mr. Woolley and Mr. Lawrence, whom we were very fortunate in having with us as archaeologists. Mr. Woolley will not arrive in England for another fortnight, otherwise he would have taken my place here, to tell you about the archaeological results. I am afraid I cannot give you his information for him, but I will show you these photographs. Here is Ain Guderat, which is the most interesting historical place he visited, because there has been much discussion as to the site of Kadesh Barnea, where the Israelites spent 38 years. Hitherto it has been supposed to be Ain Kadeis. Mr. Woolley agrees with that view, but Ain Kadeis is a tiny spring, which might support about twenty camels, not the whole wandering tribes of Israel. Ain Guderat could supply a large body of people, and the locality would support them by cultivation. Here you see stone banks to hold up the water and catch the deposit of soil which comes down from the hills. Otherwise there would be no cultivation possible.

Here you see Reheibeh, which is twenty miles south of Beersheba and now in the desert. It is one of the Byzantine towns. It probably had a population of some 10,000 people. It is rather interesting in a way, because although the town itself is not more ancient than 200 A.D., there is a deep well, which is reputed to be the well which Isaac dug. There is also a fort close by which was built at the time of Solomon.

Here is a typical photograph showing the desert road, and the tracks across, worn by the camel and transport. Next you see the Church of St. Sebeita, forty miles south of Beersheba; in this neighbourhood there are no more than two or three wandering

Arabs, though there must have been a town of perhaps 5,000 people. Yet there are no visible means of support anywhere round. I do not know how they lived, unless they took every possible means to catch the water. Notice the arches; we found that each arch is different. Mr. Woolley thinks that these ruins were originally monasteries, and that the place grew because people came to the monasteries for protection. Remember, no desert Arab will take the trouble to put one stone in front of another. These remains are Byzantine.

Dr. Trumbull considers the Mountain, Jebel Madurah, to be the site where Aaron was buried, because he thought it to be a very conspicuous mountain, and would answer the description. From the photograph it is obviously only a small hill, and an impossible theory.

The next photograph shows you a remnant of a Roman fort. It is about 20 feet by 20 feet, and such forts are seen on the desert roads from Petra to Beersheba. They are interesting as showing which roads the Romans took.

Here you see a pass called Naqb El Safa, the foot of which is below the level of the Mediterranean, and it rises about 1,800 feet in the course of 1½ miles. That is the southern border of Palestine, because south of that it is absolutely uncultivable, there being nothing but broken limestone rock.

Here is one of the cisterns which the Byzantines dug all over the country south of Beersheba, so as to collect their water during the rains. The supply in these cisterns lasts three or four months. The Arabs do not trouble to clean all these cisterns out. During the other months of the year they wander off to wells twenty or thirty miles away.

I have a few other remarks, which Mr. Woolley would have made had he been present. In Sir Charles Watson's paper last January, in the *Quarterly Statement*, he referred to eight headings connected with the journey of the Israelites, and he pointed out the march from Sinai to Kadesh, and the halt at Kadesh. They came, he said, and stayed there thirty-eight years. Mr. Woolley will have some remarks to make on their stopping at Kadesh, and the value of excavating at Ain Guderat, where he found some pottery, which he could not date. He expects this to be of very great interest. Sir Charles Watson also referred to the journey from Kadesh to

Mount Hor. Since the Survey, we find that the easiest way was to go straight from Kadesh via Wady Lusan and Wady Jerafi to Mount Hor, which was not thought possible, owing to the high range of Azazma Mountains. These from the west look impassable, but actually the road is easy and wagons could pass along it. And I do not see why the Israelites should not have taken it. I cannot discuss it very fully, but it opens up a fresh possibility. Of course, there are no traces of any sort likely to be discovered along that road.

The special instructions to the survey party were to make a map of half-inch scale over the whole area between Gaza, Beersheba and the Dead Sea down to Akaba and east of the Egyptian frontier. This district has an area of about 4,500 square miles. We had five survey parties, and four months to do it in. We had the advantage of the Egyptian Survey trigonometrical points, and we were able to carry the triangulation eastwards from them. There was the further advantage that the Mohammedans had preserved Aaron's Tomb on the mountain with great care, and had painted it white, we were thus able to see it from fifty miles off, and so we got a base fifty miles long, and fixed Mount Hor to within about thirty feet. That saved us a good deal of expense, as well as a good deal of trouble. We have been able to join up with Colonel Conder's survey, and fix his trigonometrical points. The final results are not yet finished, but I think that Colonel Conder's points are only half a mile out in longitude, and that will probably be the adjustment right through the map. We now have a survey joined across from Egypt to Syria, which we had not got before. With regard to Aaron's Tomb, there is much controversy about it. Whether Mount Hor is or is not the site of Aaron's Tomb, I am not competent to discuss, but can say that certain other sites which various authorities have put forward as the only possible ones, are undoubtedly wrong. In fact, both archaeologically and from the surveys, our results have been so far more negative than positive, in that we can prove several theories of various commentators to be wrong without being able to prove correct sites ourselves. Dr. Masterman mentioned the theory of the country drying up. I have read Professor Huntingdon's book, and Professor Gregory's article in the *Geographical Journal* two or three months ago, and it is difficult to add any fresh evidence to what they state. They both bring evidence to support their own views, and it is rather difficult

to give an opinion. But in the southern part, whether there has been water or not, there is nothing particular to cultivate. It is possible that formerly there was rather more rain in the northern country than now, and it would not have required very much more to make it more habitable than it is now. There is a huge wall of 1,800 feet drop here, and north of that is a country which is not altogether detestable—one cannot say more than that; south of that, one would stick to the description "detestable"; it is absolute limestone, with the exception of a few scrubby bushes in the valleys. It is difficult for any man to live there, and impossible for anybody but an Arab. With regard to the survey, it was more interesting work than one usually has when surveying a desert, because there was much else to do than actual surveying; one was not working one's own country for one's own government, and, had not the Turkish officials given us every assistance, we should have been very much hampered. One reads in journals about the Azazma country being very dangerous on account of the wildness of the local Arabs; but, as a matter of fact, these stories are probably due to non-Arabic-speaking travellers, who depend on the wily-tongued dragoman for information. It is to the dragoman's interest to make out that there is danger, so that they may get higher rates of pay. I will conclude by saying that the best place in the whole of this country was Dr. Stirling's C.M.S. Hospital at Gaza. His reputation amongst the Arabs and townspeople is remarkable and one to make anyone feel proud of his nationality. I may add that full value is obtained at Gaza for every contribution to the Hospital.

The CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you will allow me to express, on your behalf, to Dr. Gurney Masterman and Captain Newcombe, our sense of obligation for the admirable addresses they have given us. Nothing, I think, can better bring home to the friends and supporters of this movement the immense variety and the different problems for research presented by the enterprise of the Palestine Exploration Fund than the series of photographs, notably the later ones, which I think Captain Newcombe said were prepared by Mr. Woolley. It would be difficult to picture a more variegated scene, or a group representing more differing aspects of civilization than that astonishing heap of rubbish which was once a prosperous and progressive community.

prior to its destruction by some hordes of invaders, who overran the South. A different epoch of civilization was that singular little Roman blockhouse which Captain Newcombe, as a soldier, estimates would scarcely accommodate more than half-a-dozen troops, now a ruin, but a ruin dominated by an Arab labourer. Apart from the curious pictures illustrating the state of cultivation, I was impressed by the water cave, one of a great series, upon which this Southern desert at one time depended for its cultivation, and therefore for its life, which now, I gather, is at the mercy of persons who do not think it advisable or necessary to keep these wells clear. Those pictures certainly brought home to my mind the various aspects of the work of this Fund. But I have been impressed myself, I confess, by the multifarious responsibilities which this Society has undertaken, and has successfully achieved during what I think must now be close on fifty years of activity. No private society in the world can boast of the record of map-making comparable with that carried out by this Fund. To have achieved the great Survey of Palestine, assisted throughout, as the Fund has been, by officers of the Royal Engineers, was a work which lasted for many years and is even now not quite accomplished, and of itself justified the Fund in becoming the pioneer of this great effort, and more than justifies the existence of the Fund during the past half-century. Again, the Fund seems to me to be a great publishing house. The wall-shelf accommodation required for a complete set of the Proceedings, the Quarterly Notes, and so on, published by the Fund is very considerable. Again, I imagine that few societies of this character can have contributed so much to the literary demonstration of their work than has this Fund. Finally, of course, there is the research. I think Dr. Masterman—if he will permit me to say so—showed with great clearness, not only how exciting archaeological excavation can become, but how fruitful it can be made in the determination of exact knowledge. That diagram showing the respective strata of civilization, though, as he admitted, empiric in its form, was none the less based upon exact observation, and probably, if excavated to its logical conclusion, which is the bed-rock upon which the whole of these subsequent civilizations are founded, would more than justify the induction which he has himself drawn. I feel, therefore, ladies and gentlemen, that the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund is so far-reaching in its character and so wide spread is the net it casts, that the Fund deserves greater support in the future than it has thought

necessary to claim from the public in the past. In one of the recent papers it is noted that the expense of exploration and excavation is growing. That, I have no doubt, is true, but it increases the difficulty, for in carrying out any great work it correlativey increases the obligation on the subscribers to supply the necessary finances. Moreover, Dr. Masterman pointed out something which should not be forgotten, namely, that the period following the active excavation is one during which serious financial burdens are placed on the Fund: the publication following excavation means an outlay of money; and although there may be a certain return, yet, none the less, support is very greatly needed.

We have now passed the time which it is customary for these meetings to last; but, in conclusion, I should like to offer a tribute of congratulation to the Fund for the admirable manner in which it seems to organize its work, for the consistency and patience which it has shown during the past half-century, often under conditions of great difficulty, in pursuing these arduous and responsible tasks; and, above all, on the tact and on the judgment which fifty years of Executive Committees have displayed in dealing, not with problems purely on their archaeological or indeed their Biblical side, but in dealing with the personal problems which must arise when conducting explorations in a country which in many ways—racially, religiously, socially—differs as the poles from our own.

I take this opportunity, ladies and gentlemen, of thanking you for the honour which you have done me in electing me to the General Committee. For many years past it has been my misfortune to ask for votes from a different kind of constituency from this, and it had been my intention to ask the Fund to elect me as an ordinary member, and they have honoured me by electing me as an Alderman forthwith. I thank you for that honour, and I wish all prosperity to the work of this distinguished Association. (Applause.)

Mr. MORRISON.—I have a pleasant task, but an easy one, ladies and gentlemen, and that is, to ask you to pass a cordial vote of thanks to Lord Crawford and Balcarres for the speech which he has given us and for taking the chair this afternoon. Lord Crawford is well known in the annals of Science, Art, and Archaeology, and his presence here will be of considerable service to our Fund, and we may well be proud, for we were the originators of scientific exploration in Palestine and everywhere else; and we have carried out our

business during the last 48 years in a thoroughly scientific way. There is not a bit of pottery or a bone that has been found in our explorations which has not been recorded, so that we can tell exactly where it was found, and sometimes the position is very important. And we have been the parent of a great number of Societies, Italian, French, American, German, who have followed in our footsteps, not always in the same scientific way, and we have produced a map which is practically as good as the Ordnance Map of England. I am sure you will join me in expressing your real gratitude to Lord Crawford and Balcarres for taking the chair and joining us this afternoon.

Mr. HOGARTH.—I have great pleasure in seconding the vote which has been moved by Mr. Morrison to Lord Crawford and Balcarres. He inherits many scientific interests, and he has developed artistic ones. Though we cannot find him art out of the mines of Palestine, I hope we shall find much which will interest him during the time he remains a member of our Council.

The vote was carried.

The CHAIRMAN.—Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Colonel Sir CHARLES WATSON.—My lord, ladies and gentlemen, the last resolution to propose is one which I feel sure you will pass with acclamation, namely, that the thanks of this meeting be given to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, for allowing us the use of their lecture room. We are indeed indebted to the Council for being so good as to let us have the use of this admirable room for our meeting.

Dr. MASTERMAN.—I second it.

This was carried, and the meeting terminated.

THE SURVEY OF SINAI AND SOUTH PALESTINE.

*Captain Newcombe's Report for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*¹

(Written at Akaba—Feb., 1914.)

THE work of the Survey party in Southern Palestine is now half-completed and the area to be mapped should be finished by about the middle of May.

As mentioned in the January *Quarterly Statement*, the object of the present work is to prolong the first survey of Palestine to the Egyptian frontier.

There are five survey parties at work.

The map is being made on the scale of $\frac{1}{25000}$ roughly contoured at 100' intervals. The country is being triangulated; the fixed points of the Sinai boundary determined by the Egyptian Survey Department being carried further east. In the north a chain of triangles has been carried across to connect with the original P.E.F. Survey, and though the final adjustment has not yet been made, there appears to be a difference in longitude between the two Surveys of about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile. An accurate connection will be obtained before the work is finished.

Further to the south time and expense are being saved by observing large triangles; thus Mount Hor and Jebel Taba are observed from two mutually visible fixed points over 40 miles apart on the Egyptian frontier. Having these exterior points of the area to be surveyed well fixed, the other points can be made to tie on to them easily, and errors due to rapid work minimized and localized.

Since the top of Mount Hor does not appear above the sky-line owing to the higher plateau to the east, it is very gratifying that Aaron was provided with a more than usually large tomb; its colour, too, was carefully chosen, in that it is of a sufficiently bright nature to show up against the dark hills in the background. Who,

¹ The Report reached the P.E.F. too late for insertion in the April issue.

observing rays of over 55 miles in length, one feels bound to express thanks to a former generation for its kindly forethought.

The country immediately south and west of Gaza and Beersheba has been completed, and since the fixed points are all on the Egyptian frontier, the work naturally proceeds from west to east.

The main interest of the survey is naturally archaeological. Very fortunately, Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence, two archaeologists connected with the British Museum, were able to visit the area being surveyed for nearly two months, and their report will be, of course, the main scientific result. Other archaeological results, either negative or positive, may be obtained from studying the names which are being collected.

Much trouble is being taken to get these names, but there is even more difficulty than usual, owing to the very suspicious nature of the local Bedouin, and though guides with general knowledge of the country are easy to find, those who know the smaller place-names in each locality are not. It is feared that on the whole few new names will be added to the maps made by Musil and other older travellers. The more important sites where names are likely to have been missed for various causes will be revisited before the end by one of the party who speaks Arabic fairly well, accompanied by an educated Syrian. The Arabs by that time, too, will have more confidence in us.

The main difficulties of the work so far have been, first, transport, then guides, hostility of Arabs in certain parts, and the obtaining of food.

The work at the start was much delayed by the inability to get camels, except at exorbitant rates. When the party first got to Gaza, there was a period of some days' heavy rain; the local camels were all being employed on cultivation: horses, donkeys and oxen also being yoked indiscriminately to each other, the heftier husbandmen yoking their wives for want of better animals. Of this wide choice of transport, the survey party were obliged to restrict themselves to camels. After vainly endeavouring to obtain camels by hire in Gaza, we were compelled, after buying a few which were on their way from Homs for sale in Cairo, to get a camel contractor from El-Arish, Ahmed Abu Zakri with his son Hamdi, to meet us at Rafa, where a satisfactory contract was made. One of the survey party became partner in a Camel Supply Company with Abu Zakri, sharing expenses and profits, while another

of the party made a contract with the former, representing the company, for the supply of camels; both transactions of course being on behalf of the P.E.F. In this way it is to the interest of those hiring the camels to look after them and economize in their use and expense, as far as work permits, while the contractor is partly insured against loss by theft or other causes in this rather unsafe country. The P.E.F. too, having hired at quite an unusually low rate for this country, will also recover half the profits.

The result so far appears to work out at about half the prices required in Gaza; a big item, since transport is the chief expense. Half the camels at the end will belong to the P.E.F., bought originally at very reasonable figures; and though the *Quarterly Statement* is not primarily an advertising agency, any good offer for some 20 excellent camels, available in May, would be welcomed. A reserve price has been arranged with the contractor.

After making this contract, it took five days before the camels were collected from El Arish and brought to Gaza; meanwhile an attempt was made by one party with the few camels already bought to start the triangulation from the neighbourhood of Rafa, but as the Egyptian triangulation points no longer existed, it was essential to start further south. The officer about to undertake this work, however, fell ill for a fortnight.

There was some difficulty too in getting hold of the Arabs. The head sheikh of the Terabin, Hamad El-Sufi, had promised to be at Gaza on a certain date. Partly owing to the heavy rains he never arrived. The head of the party had therefore to go to Beersheba.

The Kaimakam here was very hospitable and gave every assistance. After delays due to weather and waiting for camels from El Arish, ten guides were obtained, two to each party, including messengers, all guaranteed and appointed by Sheikh Hamad El-Sufi or his son Jadua. The parties were thus able to enjoy Christmas Day by really starting work. Naturally the guides had not been brought by the sheikh till the last moment; hence choice was not immediately possible; some evidently expected to be coming for an ordinary tourist picnic and hardly expected real work. In a few days' time it was easy to replace such by less wealthy Arabs with humbler ideas.

A touch of human nature is shown by people advising one to take the utmost caution against camel thieves and other dangerous

folk directly their own neighbourhood is left. Of course, whilst with them, all is safe, but a mile outside their district it is dangerous to move, especially at night. This advice began at Gaza and has continued practically everywhere since.

On the whole most Arabs have been quite friendly: some of the Azazma have been a little truculent, but merely passive resisters, in the way of providing information.

The only real likelihood of trouble is from a raiding party from the Ma'za or Huweitat Arabs, who live east of the Araba: some of these have, within the last month, made three or four raids into Sinai, one raid as far as within 30 miles of Suez, it is said. They are, however, merely anxious to steal camels and have no real animosity against travellers: unless perhaps the travellers strike the first blow from hypersensitive views as to rightful ownership.

These thieves restrict themselves to certain areas, mainly passing the now very deserted Wady Jerafi country; they cannot pass through the Serahin country owing to a blood feud of some years' standing, hence are restricted to the country south of Jebel Samawi to Wady Musa.

As mentioned before, some of the Azazma have been somewhat ill-disposed towards us, but this was before their respective Sheikhs had been seen. Since these Sheikhs have had our work explained to them, and gentle suggestions made that they are responsible for our being treated properly in their country, there has been no trouble. The Arabs, however, pull down our cairns because they say they stop the rain. We brought ample rain on our arrival in December, but since then our influence has been extremely bad, as the crops already sown are drying up. Fortunately, in the last few days there has been plenty of rain; it is to be hoped that our good influence will be again recognized.

Remarks on the country generally and archaeology in particular are being left till Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence write their report. It is fortunate that they joined later, after the survey parties had been able to see something of the country and locate places of possible interest: it is to be distinctly regretted that their work elsewhere in Syria will not allow them to remain after February.

The first archaeological discovery by surveyors was near Khan Yunis and consisted of marble pillars, capitals, and a mosaic floor in excellent preservation (what there is of it) at Abasan. These ruins may or may not be recorded elsewhere, but the discoverers were

somewhat depressed to learn that the pottery they had collected and the ruins they had seen were merely Byzantine and of no vast interest.

Remarks on the Arab tribes, their names and localities, will be described later: but it may be remarked here that our start would have been speedier had we been better informed.

It was assumed that Gaza was the centre of everything, and Gaza people naturally led one to think what they believed. For trade and supplies Gaza is the big place, but for getting into touch with Arabs, we should have gone to Beersheba earlier, since the Arabs are governed from there and not Gaza.

One cannot close this report without expressing great thanks to Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Sterling, of whose hospitality we had heard directly we heard of Gaza, and to A. A. Knesevitch, Esq., the British Consular Agent, who, with his son, made untiring efforts to assist us in every way.

(Signed) S. F. NEWCOMBE,
14.2.1914. *Capt., R.E.*

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Since the above article was written the survey party has returned to England.

The whole of the work was completed as had been expected with the exception of a small area near Akaba; the Turkish authorities were unwilling to give permission for survey to be carried out in this district.

The map will not be incomplete, however, as Major Kitchener, R.E., mapped this area in 1883.

Mount Hor was fixed, relative to the Sinai Survey, with a probable error of only 30 feet. The external points of the survey are therefore of very fair accuracy.

The archaeological results will be written by Mr. Woolley and published in the P.E.F. *Annual Report*, with a chapter on the Bedouin tribes and on the survey.

On the whole, the names of places were obtained fairly accurately, and as fully as could be expected. They were all written in Arabic

by an educated Syrian, who himself heard them spoken by the guides.

The main item of interest is that "Theigat el-Amirin," a name suggested by Prof. Palmer as being a relic of the Amorites, is found to refer to a tribal fight of about 150 years ago between the Azazma and the Amiri tribes, some fifty of whom now live near Gaza, and other members near Shobek. They are said to be a branch of the Maaza tribe. The name therefore has no connection with the Amorites.

Another point that seems certain is that these Bedouin tribes have only moved to this desert country within the last 500 years; even the Hauwat and Azazma have not been much longer in the neighbourhood. Naum Bey Shoueir, an official in the Egyptian Government, Cairo, is writing a book on the History and Geography of Sinai Peninsula in which he refers to all Arabic authors who have written on the subject of the tribes of the country; and his opinion is also that there is no historical evidence to be gained, earlier than 500 years ago, from studying the present tribes.

All roads have been well marked on the new map, and some interesting information obtained. The direct route from Kadesh to Mount Hor, which had been thought by earlier writers to be impossible, owing to the hills south of Khoraisha, has been found to be an easy road and is the most obvious and direct. This road descends to Wady Abu Takiya and Jerafi.

The main results of the work done, both archaeologically and in other directions, seem to be that many erroneous ideas will be cleared away, and while perhaps no startling new information has been found, the basis for further work or research is on solid foundations.

(Signed) S. F. NEWCOMBE,
Capt., R.E.

June, 1914.

THE JEWISH QUARTERS IN ANCIENT ROME.

By SIGNOR PIETRO ROMANELLI.¹

By continually extending the boundaries of her empire and thus becoming practically the capital of the world, Rome commenced to acquire the aspect and character of a cosmopolitan city. To her ancient nobility and plebeian population were soon added, as a result of foreign conquests, not only families and individuals hailing from Latium and other Italian regions, but also—and these were numerous—persons coming from other and more distant lands, especially from the East.

On the one hand there were prisoners of war who were brought to Rome to figure behind the chariot of their conqueror, and who were subsequently sold as slaves, and frequently liberated later, and given rights of citizenship; whilst, on the other hand, were all those who flocked voluntarily to the city that had become the life centre of the world, attracted by the desire of enriching themselves.

Thus, in course of time, various colonies of foreigners were to be found in Rome, as a rule, enjoying complete liberty. Of these colonies, that of the Jews was of special interest. This colony, constituted about the second or the first century, B.C., and, augmenting with time, perhaps alone of all these, never changed its customs or beliefs, but tenaciously resisted the forces of either assimilation or expansion exercised first by the Roman Empire, and, later, by Christianity. Recognized in their organization by the civil authority, excepting for some short periods of persecution, the Jews were variously regarded by the Romans in the midst of whom they lived. Some, and they were the majority, ridiculed and despised them for their superstitious practices. Others, and among these the more learned, highly appreciated their monotheistic

¹ Translated from the *Bulletino dell' Associazione Archeologica Romana*, June, 1912, pp. 132 *sqq.*, and published by kind permission.

religion, a fact which facilitated their adoption of the faith of Christianity. The funerary monuments and inscriptions of this colony, which have descended to us, are both numerous and important.

Leaving, for a moment, the study of these, I will consider solely the places that the Jews preferred to inhabit in Rome, which became quarters exclusively their own, or Ghettos, similar to that in which, several centuries later, they were confined by the Pope. They, however, congregated together thus voluntarily, and not because they were constrained so to do by the Roman laws.

The first Jews certainly came to Rome as prisoners of war, not so much from Palestine, their original country, as from the cities of Egypt, Asia Minor and Greece, wherein they were widely spread after Alexander's conquests. In all these places they had been specially engaged in commerce, therefore it is not surprising that, besides this forced immigration to Rome, should soon follow that of other Jews voluntarily coming with the view of gain.

Thus was formed a colony of special importance; Jews, in whom, naturally, the sentiments of union and brotherhood were accentuated by their remoteness from their native country and the almost general contempt by which they were surrounded. So they erected their houses in vicinity to each other, grouping them around the site of a synagogue. Originally but one Jewish quarter of this kind was formed, that of Trastevere [in the south-west, across the Tiber]. Philo proves this when speaking of the liberty conferred upon the Jews by Augustus. He names only Trans-Tiber as their abode. This testimony of Philo is confirmed by the fact that the most ancient and, possibly the largest, Jewish Roman cemetery is to be found precisely above the Via Portuense, under Monteverde.

Various reasons induced the Jews to select the Trastevere for their home, and certain of these are easy to be understood. The Roman Jews were mostly of servile origin, and so were compelled, in order to obtain a livelihood, to devote themselves to the minor trades and petty businesses when not forced to have recourse to less legitimate callings.

At this time the quarter which, better than any other, could harbour such citizens, was the Trastevere, where the poorer classes of the city lived, operatives and small tradesmen, and where there were many industries established, and where the vicinity of the gate afforded a wide field of action to the humbler classes waiting

for any sort of employment, such as portage, unloading and loading goods, and such like.

Again, Trastevere being considered as almost outside the city, seems to have been a quarter destined for foreigners. At first the Romans used to send abroad (or banish) people whom they had led away in masses from a conquered city. Later, they were obliged to accept as residents those who voluntarily, or otherwise, had come to make their home in Rome, and that principally for two reasons.

In the first place, the Romans, jealous, especially in the more ancient times, of all that concerned and interested their race and nationality, although welcoming hospitably those who came to their city, kept these foreigners far from their houses: it did not please them to mingle with them, as though they were of their own origin and had the same rights.

On the other hand, the foreigners, who, coming to Rome, wished to continue to practice their own religion, were obliged necessarily to establish themselves in a quarter outside of the "pomerium," selecting preferably a place which coming under these conditions should remain so for a long time; and that is why a Roman law, that remained in force till the second century, A.D., severely prohibited the use of any worship whatever, not recognised by the Senate inside the enclosure of the "pomerium." Such reasons must have been specially for the Jews, who were strong conservatives in their habits and beliefs, and who in general, were disliked by the Romans for the difference of their race and religion, diametrically opposed in its monotheistic conception to the Roman religion.

Efforts are being made to discover to what part of modern Trastevere corresponds the larger Jewish centre. Bosio compared the church of "S. Salvatore della Corti," close to S. Cecilia, with the epithet of "Curti" accredited by many writers to the Jews, and thinks they must have inhabited this part; if, as we shall see, the conclusion of Bosio is correct, his premise, however, is not correct, seeing that the name of the church has certainly another origin. De Rossi and Berliner, on the other hand, placed the nucleus of this Jewish centre in the neighbourhood of the Septimiana Gate; the one basing himself on the discovery of a Jewish marble, which had probably been part of the edifice of a synagogue, and was recovered in the Tiber exactly in that spot; the other, in error, placing in relation to the Via Aurelia the "Gradus Aurelii," which Cicero in the oration "Pro Flacco" states belonged to the Jews.

With more certainty may we instead accept the conclusions of Bosio, and in this various reasons support us. Above all is the fact that all the later notes that relate to the Jews refer to this part. In mediaeval times, in fact, we know with certainty that the Jews lived in great numbers in the precincts of the church of S. Cecilia; the road which led from this church to the Tiber, the present Via dei Vascellari, is recorded in a document of 1219 under the name of "Rua Iudeorum"; in a diploma of 1050 the "Ponte Quattro Capi" is called "Pons Iudeorum"; the "Campus Iudeorum" before the Portese Gate, was the locality where the Hebrews till the time of Bosio buried their dead. In the second place, the existence of the big Jewish cemetery above the Portuense makes us remember that the Jewish quarter was near to the gate from which this road issued, and not near to another gate and another great road like the Via Aurelia, in which case we should have found on this at least some trace of Hebrew *hypogaea*.

However, allowing that the most important nucleus of the Jews inhabited that part of the Trastevere that extends to the east of the line marked to-day by the Viale da Re, we can also admit that a small group of them, together with their synagogues, were near the Septimiana Gate; it was in fact "a good part of Trastevere," according to Philo, "that inhabited by the Jews." In these hypotheses, besides the above-mentioned discovery of the marble, two other considerations confirm us.

We know from Pliny that amongst the products of the Jews most favoured in Rome, was the wine made from the dates of the palm; we can therefore believe that the Jews of the capital, engaged in business, would know how to make the most of this taste of the Romans, selling them this wine, the importation of which came to them, naturally, more easily and cheaply than to others.

Now, quite near the Septimiana Gate there was in ancient times a centre of wine commerce, as is shown to us by the discovery of "collae vinariae nova et Auruntiana." On the other hand, one of the synagogues of Rome received the name of Agrippa, the counsellor and friend of Augustus; the origin of this is shown in the fact that Agrippa, like Augustus, showed himself very benevolent towards the Jews of Rome and the Empire, conceding them liberty and privileges. Therefore, perhaps, as Berliner supposes, Agrippa went to the length of providing the Jews of Rome with financial help for the erection of an oratory, and this, although it may not be confirmed by any

historian, would well accord with the renovation of the public buildings of Rome completed by Agrippa himself and Augustus; of the public works of Agrippa traces remain, close to the place in question, in the bridge which took its name from himself.

With time, growing in numbers, the Jews of the right bank of the Tiber, would pass over to the left bank, establishing their home in Campus Martius, near the Capena Gate, and in the Subura.

The existence of a Jewish centre in the Campus Martius is proved to us, above all, by the name of one of the Roman synagogues, that of "Campesioi"; in fact, there is no doubt that this name had a topographical origin. For further confirmation I think one might, moreover, produce a passage of Philo; this, informing us of the sad business of the embassy that the Jews of Alexandria sent to Caligula to obtain justice against the heathen persecutors, tells us that the first meeting of the legation with the Emperor took place in the Campus Martius, whilst the prince issued from the "horti" of his mother Agrippina. From some particularity, which the historian adds, one can gather that the legation, when the meeting took place, found themselves in the midst of other Jews, therefore, in every probability, in the midst of a Jewish centre.

The "horti" of Agrippina were away from the Tiber, but they reached to the river, and from here one passed over to the left bank by means of a bridge—destroyed later—to whose ruins, in mediaeval times, was given the name of "Pons Neronianus," and which was near the place of the new bridge Vittorio Emanuele. Hence, the Jewish centre in question must have been at the extremity of the Campus Martius, by the river, and in the area corresponding to the extremity of the Corso Vittorio Emanuele and neighbouring ways. And this will well accord with the fact that this part of Campus Martius was, till after the time of Adrian, outside the pomerium; thus, the Jews finding room there, could have the oratory in the midst of their houses. These Jews of the Campus Martius probably also used the Cemetery of Portuense.

The presence above the Appia of three Jewish cemeteries, one of which, that of Vigna Randanini, was very large, tells us that the Jewish centre of the Capena Gate was much more important and numerous than that of Campus Martius. This originated probably towards the end of the first century, for Juvenal already speaks to us of the Wood of Camene leased to the Jewish beggars; but certainly it developed, above all, in the second century, as is

demonstrated to us by the inscriptions and pictures of the cemetery of Vigna Randanini. Why the Jews chose for their home this place can be easily imagined when one thinks that it, like the neighbourhood of the Gate, was a point much adapted for the exercise of business; for the general explanation of that activity "sui generis" proper to men poor in money but rich in resources.

The Via Appia was, in fact, after the river, the other great artery of communication with the East and with Africa, and from one and the other side of the Road there were markets and wide spaces where the peasants from the country came to despatch their affairs.

Near the "agger" of Servius Tullius there must have been another Jewish centre. A heathen inscription records that, in fact, of P. Coridio Signius, "pomarius de aggere a proseucha." By "proseucha" there is no doubt that the house of prayer is intended—the Jewish synagogue; we must therefore think that near the ancient Tullian fortifications, in the Empire, for a great part covered by ugly small houses and shops, was a synagogue of a certain fame, one may give the name to a part of the "agger" itself. The proseucha must have been in the midst of a nucleus of Jewish houses, and seeing that amongst the synagogues of Rome there is one called after the Siburesioi, one can gather, with a fair amount of certainty, that this nucleus of Jews dwelt in the Subura—quarters poor and unhappy—and thence extended to the southern extremity of the "agger," towards the ancient Esquilina Gate, near which there must have been the proseucha recorded by the inscription of Signinus.

And this is confirmed to us by the existence of a Jewish cemetery on the Labicana, one of the roads issuing from the Esquilina Gate. The cemetery shows itself to be of a rather later period than the time of the Antonini; it may be believed, in fact, that the Jews lived in great numbers in the Subura only after the law had gone into disuse that prohibited the exercise of the foreign worship inside the enclosure of the pomerium.

Resuming, we find in Rome, towards the third century A.D., four Jewish centres; one very vast, that one might consider composed of two different groups, in Trastevere, and the other three of minor importance in Campus Martius, near the Capena Gate, and in Subura. With the foundation of the Christian empire, the hatred and aversion of the people towards the Jews drove these to unite themselves all together in one great centre, and this will be in

Trastevere, near the Portese Gate; but from there they passed, bit by bit, to this side of the river, and thence, later (1555), to the area lying between the Tiber, Portico di Ottavia, S. Angelo in Pescheria, and the quarter of Regola; they would be enclosed in the Jewish quarter by Pope Paolo IV.

COINCIDENCES OF HEBREW AND CUNEIFORM LITERATURE.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

The increasing accuracy with which the cuneiform-inscribed literature of Babylonia and Assyria is now being translated permits the versions of their numerous texts as now edited by specialists to be confidently utilized for purposes of comparison with the writings of their neighbours, the Jews, a people of such supreme interest to us. The results of such a study are very valuable for illustrating the Old Testament authors by revealing to us their mental standpoint, and thus tending to prove that their works were contemporary productions with those of Mesopotamian authors of their era which have been preserved. The most important of the larger fragments of the cuneiform works throwing light upon the Old Testament books have been published *in extenso* in popular form, but there are some minor matters of similar character, elucidated by cuneiform literature, which are of much interest, and a few of them are briefly summarized in the following notes.

In Habakkuk iii, 3-6, omitting words unnecessary for our present purpose, occurs the following sentence:—"God came from Teman and Paran (the sultry southern desert of Chour, and cavernous scorching rocky hills therein)" having rays at his side, "Before Him went (the) Pestilence¹; and fever-glow² goeth forth at His feet." The pestilence demon, as God's emissary, was very familiar to Babylonian ideas. Thus the last (or imprecatory clause) of Hammurabi's Law Code says: "May there come upon him an evil

¹ See Deuteronomy xxxii, 24, "They shall be devoured with burning heat." Margin, "scorching fever."

² Or fiery darts.

pestilence which cannot be cured: like the *bite of death* cannot be removed."

In passing, one cannot fail to notice the striking similarity between the final words of this sentence and the concept in the Book of Job where Bildad says: "His strength shall be hunger bitten. The first-born of death shall gnaw (bite) him." This thought of the "bite of death," a Semitic concept, is, of course, the progenitor of Paul's triumphant query "Where is death's 'fang,'" or sting. Returning to the consideration of Habakkuk's description of Pestilence marching before God, this is a similar view of the personality producing disease with that of the pest deity of Assyria and Babylonia, who is to be equated with the dreaded Reseph of Syria.

The Old Testament use of the word Reseph,¹ a term identical with the Syro-Aramaic deity name, shows how precisely parallel was the thought basis in each case. In Psalm lxxviii, 48, Reseph is the lightning or thunderbolt, precisely as in Habakkuk's account of God having rays at his side symbolic of the lightning, with pestilence and fever as His companions. Thus, in Job v, 7, the fiery darts (or sparks) which fly upward are the fever shafts from Sheol rising, bearers of disease, death, and evil. To the Babylonians the pestilence and plague deity, as denizen of the shades, was symbolized by another god Dibbara, demon of devouring, mysterious epidemics. Dibbara may be connected with Deber, the "pestilence," of Sheol, the "house of death." The almost certain identity of Reseph, the Syro-Aramean deity with Rainman, or Rimmon, of Assyria, who in his images is depicted with the lightning, or burning dart, is another link of these old worships with Old Testament writers, for Reseph=Rimmon is the Cypriote Greek² Apollo, whose arrows were the scorching sun-shafts of autumn—the time of fevers and illness—and the lightning, whilst his more earthly weapons or agents were plagues and epidemics.

To Apollo Smyntaeus, as god of pestilence, were presented votive mice as offerings, and probably rats: the connection of such animals with disease was known to the ancients and is, doubtless, alluded to

¹ See in a recently found Phoenician inscription from Sidon, of Bod Astart, the district of Reṣeph, ፩ ፻ ፻ ፻.

² See the Cypriote inscription identifying Apollo with Reṣeph. For representations of the Syrian Reṣeph upon Egyptian monuments see W. Spiegelberg, "Neue Reṣeph Darstellungen," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1908, 529-531. With plate presenting four instances.

in the story told by Herodotus, II, 14, of the destruction of Sennacherib's army by a plague of rats, thus directly agreeing with the modern view as to these spreaders of contagion. In 1 Samuel vi, 4-5 and 17-18, the occurrence of plague is distinctly connected with the mice in Philistia. The Philistines, for a prophylactic, accordingly dedicated offerings in the form of mice to their god Rešeph Apollo.¹ There were by them placed inside the Hebrew Ark of the Covenant, together with models of the so-called emerods, perhaps copies of the grievous boils of the bubonic plague (1 Sam. vi, 4 *sqq.*, 17 *sqq.*). Confirmation of the accuracy of this story was provided some years ago by the discovery of silver votive mice in a river near Sidon. Also Punic, or Phoenician, monuments have mice carved upon them.² Precisely at recent research concerning the spread of disease by rodents is found to be alluded to in the Old Testament and ancient authors, so also the potent part, played by flies and mosquitoes, in similar dissemination of contagion, is quite Biblical.

When Ahaziah was seized by sudden illness he sent to enquire concerning it to Ekron, the site of a shrine of Baal-zebub "the Lord of Flies," evidently because his malady was supposed to be connected with, if not produced by, these insects (2 Kings i).

We possess corroborative evidence that the deity of Ekron was one who had the power of protection against the conveyance of disease by flies, because the Talmud—although apparently the author of the passage was unaware of the object for which it was done—tells us that the Ekronites made little images of flies, carried them upon their person, and sometimes kissed them.³ The Talmud also connects the Baal-berek of Shechem with the Baal-zebub of Ekron, and repeats that the latter was a fly deity.

That the Old Testament writers can be now further illustrated from cuneiform sources is evidenced again in connection with Ramman, the thunderstorm, and hot fever-wind deity. In Assyria the lightning bolt was his emblem, and he was designated Barqu, the lightning's dart, or flash, hence the Hebrew Baraq, lightning. Prof. Sayce explains that Ramman was an amalgamation of the Wind god and the Air god. The Martu deities, of whom a cuneiform

¹ Arsuf, near Jaffa, in the Rešeph littoral, is the Arabic, رُسُوف; the Greek, Αρσοφλιον.

² See *Corpus Inscri. Semit.*, II, 344.

³ The Greek equivalent Josephus gives for the Ekron deity is Μυτά and the LXX βάαλ μυῖαν θεον Ἀκκαρῶν: μυῖα corresponds to Zebub.

hymn says: "They are the evil winds, messengers of the pestilence demon, are they." The plague weapon of Ramman (Reseph) by the Euphrates and Tigris, was the hot, stifling, fever-blast of autumn, counterpart of the scorching Southern desert wind of Palestine, he having been, a tablet tells us, *Uta-dina-giba*, "the scorching desert sun."¹ His burning disease was promoted by the hot wind of the waste. The Biblical and Syrian Reseph=Apollo=the Assyrian Ramman (or Rimmon) is shown as a Hittite deity standing, thunder-bolt in hand, upon the great Hittite stele not yet deciphered, found by Herr Koldewey at Babylon.

We return now to Bildad's threat that "the first-born of death shall bite him." This personification was a "pestilence demon" rising up from Sheol as from a charnel house. This concept of many descriptions of diseases and epidemics being propagated by evil spirits in Sheol, and thus rising up from that subterranean Hades as the ghost ascended at Endor, from Sheol, "the pit," "death's abode," in Assyrian, the Kigallû, or Arallû, is very Chaldean.²

Nergal and Eriskigal, god and goddess of the "Eufs," used to release, or let up, the disease demons. It was a repository of maladies. So Eriskigal, its denizen, desiring to curse Ishtar, the Babylonian Astarte, ordered her "messenger," the minor deity Namtar, progenitor of Hermes, as psychopomp of the Shades, to inoculate her with 60 (a *soss*) of diseases. Thus Hosea xiii, 14, reproducing in Hebrew phraseology the idea of sickness emanating from Sheol, says: "O! death, I will be (or where are ?) thy plagues. O! Sheol, where is thy destruction?"³

Job's censor, Bildad, whose name may be a compound of Bel (Merodach), seems specially saturated with Mesopotamian ideas. He blames Job (xviii, 8) for getting entangled in a net, but the patriarch explains that God had compassed (or noosed) him with His net.⁴

¹ See remarks upon Habakkuk iii, on page 141.

² The Old Testament peopled Sheol with deities, see 1 Sam. xxviii, 13, "I saw gods ascending out of the earth." So Ishtar, when in the Underworld, told the gatekeeper if he did not let her out she would break open the gate and then the dead, let loose, would ascend and devour the living.

³ Job xxvi, 7, "He stretcheth out the north over the empty place and hangeth the earth upon nothing," shows the thought that the earth had beneath it an empty chaos, and in its bowels were Sheol and its demon habitant Abaddon. See Revelation ix, 1.

⁴ In Job xxvi, 11, the heavens are stated to be supported upon pillars, as was the view of the Cosmos in ancient Egypt.

This concept of disease and consequent death, as also death by war or accident, is in cuneiform literature frequently termed being dragged down to the grave, or spoken of as being thrown into the earth by the "Net of Dread Destiny of the gods." The pestilence deity possessed a special net, and was, as we have seen, Nergal, a tenant of Sheol. Therefore invocations to a god begging not to be entangled in the net of sickness, or, if so caught, to be released therefrom, are chiefly addressed to him as Inferno's lord.¹ Nergal's netcraft was so dire that he could even enmesh the gods and drag them to his dark domain. The goddess Nin-Sonu, thus held in the Underworld, asks help of Bel, and that high deity himself when caught sought Sin's assistance for his plight.²

Before discussing further this dreaded net, an Old Testament reference to this weapon of man, and also of the members of the Chaldean pantheon, should be referred to. The correct translation of Habakkuk i, 15-16, in connection with the use of nets in battle, as by gladiators in later times, says, probably thus: "The Chaldeans capture them in their nets and gather them in its meshes (or drag). Then they rejoice and exult and therefore sacrifice to their net and burn incense to its cordage (or sein). Shall they be permitted to again (therein) swallow up the people without pity?" This is an allusion to the famous "battle net of the gods" adored in the Babylonian temples. It was symbolical of the Net of Destiny of the deities: a weapon used in the holy war of the gods—that "drag" with which Merodach had defeated Tiamat in the campaign of heaven.

In a hymn to the Babylonian god Nirig, the chanter says of him: "I bear aloft the battle net from which no mountaineer has escaped." But, in Mesopotamia, prayers and incantations were oftener addressed to another net, the net (or drag) of Nergal and other destructive deities: the net which captured humanity, and by death drew them down to the doom of the Sheol Underworld, the

¹ In Père Dhorme's *Choix de Textes Cunéiformes* are many petitions of this description, 321 3-7, 321 3-65.

² See the Book of Tobit (a work written subsequent to the Captivity, and which may contain copies of Assyrian expressions, especially when referring to Ahikar, vizier of Sennacherib), xiv, 10, where it speaks of "escaping the snare of death, or falling into the same to perish."

³ That the concept of Habakkuk concerned a net to enthrall human beings is indicated by what he writes in the previous verse, "Thou makest men as the fish of the sea," meaning as held down by the net of fate.

loathsome home of disease and misery, where, even if part of its region where dwelt the Shades was not so terrible, and was called Ir-situ, it was a melancholy place like the Greek *χθών*. A title for it in its entirety, as has been mentioned, was Kigallu, which has been rendered "Great Earth." If so, then Eriskigal, its divine queen, was "Lady of the Great Earth."

The Assyrians and Babylonians conceived of it as lying at a great depth, because Nebuchadnezzar, in one of his numerous architectural inscriptions, boasts that to ensure the permanence of one of his sacred edifices, he caused the foundation pits to be so deeply dug that they "descended to the bosom of Kigallu." Nabopolassar made the same boast concerning the E-temen-an-Ki, or Tower of Babil (see Langdon).

The denizens of the dead domain were in a sort of purgatory, for a cuneiform writer tells us of them: *Nurim in-na-im akku asht*, "Light they see not, in dense darkness they sit." To be caught in the net was a fearsome fate, reserved for the wicked, and so a subject of lament to an Assyrian, as to a Hebrew, his kinsman, hence Psalm xviii, 4 and 5. "The snare of death entangled me (or compassed me), the net of Sheol seized me," and Psalm cxvi, 3, says: "The cords of death enwrapped me."¹

The Psalmist's description of death's snare is pictorially illustrated in a very ancient Babylonian relief known as the "Vulture Stele." Upon it we have persons gathered in a great net, and the god Enlil executing them with a massive mace, they thrusting their heads through the mesh in vain efforts to escape. The relief bears a cuneiform text which MM. Thureau-Dangin and Henzey, in their final edition of the monument, tell us is a record of the fixation of the boundary between the territories of Eannatum, king of Lagas, and the people of Ournina. Its being duly respected is guaranteed by invocation of the gods thus worded: "Ceux qui seront perjures au serment prêté, qui le filet des dieux s'abattu sur eux."²

¹ Escape was once, at least, achieved, for Tammuz, when imprisoned in the Underworld, evaded its encircling net, and hence is called "Lord of the Net."

² S. A. Mereer, in "The Oath in Cuneiform Inscriptions," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1913, p. 48, says of this relic: "The King's Oath is sworn by the Sulgal, net of Enlil (Bel), of Ninbar-ag, and of Enki (Ea); the oath was taken in the camp, and if broken the penalty was that the net would slay its perjuror." The idea of a divine vengeance net was known in ancient Egypt, for in the magnificent funerary papyrus "Book of the Dead" of Ioniya, there is a rare vignette of his soul, or *Ka*, escaping from the dread net of the Underworld. Reference in cuneiform texts to the warrior's net may be found in

Though escape was so impossible to mortals, some evil spirits were imagined to emanate from the Kigallu, and in order to be rid of such they had to be got back there again. Thus, in Mr. Thompson's collection of texts concerning *Demons and Evil Spirits* (Vol. I, p. 109), an incantation is provided compelling such a spirit to descend into the earth. Necromancers and witches could, temporarily, evoke a spirit up from the Shades, and such a ghost was called Šūlu, "the rising one." The operator was entitled Mušlu, "he who causes to rise." With similar idea the witch of Endor, in Samuel, asks "Whom shall I bring up?"¹

One cause of the dread of Sheol into which the death net immured the lost was that it was a "land of no return." As a writer in cuneiform says of it, it was "The house from which those who enter come not forth."²

A term closely reminiscent of Job xxx, 23, where death is spoken of as "The house appointed for all being." The Babylonian and Assyrian writers always allude to the route to the grave as being a descent, and therefore speak of coming forth from Kigallu as an ascent. So Job speaks of them that "go down to the bars of the pit."³

To attain the release of the souls from their prison, according to the Old Testament, it requires the omnipotent Jehovah. He is that One who can "bring out the prisoners from the prison: them that sit in darkness, out of the prison house." He is One that will "say to the prisoners go forth, and to them that sit in darkness show yourselves," or who "proclaims the opening of the prison to them that are bound."⁴

the Rassam Cylinder, line 56, giving us Assurbanipal's description of his capture of Babylon. Speaking of those who did not permit themselves to be burnt to death with their monarch, Šamas ū-ukin, in the palace, the historiographer writes:—"The net of the mighty gods, my lords" (the king's favourite deities) "from which no one escapes, overwhelmed them: not one escaped, no rebel evaded my hands."

¹ See 1 Samuel xxviii, 13, "I saw gods ascending out of the earth," and v. 14, "An old man cometh up." The Assyrian verb above corresponds to that used in Hebrew, נָבָע.

² Dhorme, *Choix de Textes*, 213, 327. See also Job vii, 9, "He that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more."

³ For similar Bible expressions see Psalm xxviii, 1: "They that go down to the pit"; also Psalms xxx, 9, and cxlii. Ezekiel xxvi, 20, speaks of the "descent into the pit of the people of old time in the lowest parts of the earth."

⁴ Isaiah xlvi, 7; xlix, 9; and lxi, 1.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS.

Bethléem - Le Sanctuaire de la Nativité, par les Pères H. Vincent et F. M. Abel, O.P., de l'Ecole Biblique de Jérusalem. (Librairie Lecoffre: 90, Rue Bonaparte, Paris.)

This is the most complete work that has yet been written concerning the ancient Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, from the historical and architectural point of view, and it is deserving of careful study on the part of everyone who takes an interest in the Christian antiquities of Palestine.

The collaborateurs, Fathers Vincent and Abel, were thoroughly competent to undertake the task, and have carried it out in the manner that would have been anticipated by those who are acquainted with their previous writings: It is satisfactory that the book has appeared so soon after the issue of the fine volume published by the Byzantine Research Fund in 1910, containing the plans and drawings of the Church at Bethlehem, made by Mr. W. Harvey, accompanied by articles written by Mr. W. C. Lethaby, and other experts. There was an excellent review of this work by Prof. A. C. Dickie in the *Quarterly Statement* for July, 1911, which may be referred to with advantage by those who do not possess the volume itself.

Fathers Vincent and Abel have divided the study of the question under two heads, the history and the architecture; and, of these, Father Abel deals with the former in Chapters 1, 4, and 5; and Father Vincent with the latter in Chapters 2 and 3. In the first Chapter the origin of the tradition that Jesus Christ was born in a cave is discussed: a tradition which is not referred to in the New Testament, and which appears to be first mentioned by St. Justin in the second century, who speaks of it as then accepted as a historical fact, that the manger, in which the Holy Child was placed after birth, was in a cave. In this there is nothing inconsistent with the gospel narrative, as, in those days, caves were doubtless used as stables,

just as they sometimes are at the present day. There is another view, namely, that the cave at Bethlehem was one of the grottoes sacred to Mithra worship, and that the tradition concerning it, while partially Christian, is also partially heathen. This view is alluded to by St. Jerome, who attributes its origin to the efforts made by the Emperor Hadrian to establish pagan worship in Palestine, when he rebuilt the ruined city of Jerusalem, in A.D. 136, under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*. Then, as Jerome mentions, a Temple of Jupiter was built on the site of the Temple of the Jews, a Temple of Venus at the place of the Holy Sepulchre, while the cave at Bethlehem was dedicated to the worship of Adonis, the lover of Venus. Whether, after Hadrian, the worship of Adonis obliterated the worship of Christ, or whether the rites of the two religions existed simultaneously, is doubtful ; but, however this may be, there can be no question that when the Emperor Constantine established the Christian religion in Palestine, the heathen rites at Bethlehem were abolished, and the magnificent basilica, which exists to the present day, was built over the sacred cave.

In the second chapter Father Abel deals with the history of the Church from Constantine to Justinian, and discusses at considerable length the question as to how far the credit of its erection was due to the Emperor Constantine himself, and how far to his mother, the Empress Helena. Eusebius, in his *Life of Constantine*, states that the emperor built the Church of the Anastasis over the Holy Sepulchre, and the Church of the Martyrion over the cave by Golgotha, in which the crosses were found, and that his mother erected the Church of the Eleona, on the Mount of Olives, over the cave where Jesus taught his Disciples, and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem in honour of the cave in which the Saviour was born. The Bordeaux Pilgrim, on the other hand, who visited Jerusalem when the churches were actually building, attributes them all to Constantine himself.

From the time of Constantine to that of Justinian there appears to have been little change in the Church of Bethlehem, but the latter emperor, in the sixth century, did a good deal to it in the way of restoration and addition ; this point will be referred to later. In A.D. 614, when the Persians, under Chosroes, invaded Palestine, and destroyed many of the churches in Jerusalem, they seem to have spared the Church of Bethlehem for a curious reason. One of the magnificent mosaics, with which the church was adorned, represented

the adoration of the Magi, or Wise Men of the East, who were shown as dressed in Persian costume. This the invaders seem to have recognised at once, and they came to the conclusion that the place had something in common with the Persian religion, and should not be treated as a Christian establishment. A few years later, when the Arabs took possession of Palestine, and the Khalif Omar visited Bethlehem, he also left the church in the undisturbed possession of the Christians, with the proviso that the followers of the Prophet might worship in the southern apse, one at a time. It is certainly not the least remarkable fact in the history of the Church of Bethlehem, that not one of the invaders of the country have attempted to destroy it, and that it has suffered from the lapse of time rather than from the hand of man.

During the period of the Mahomedan occupation, there was little of importance to record as regards Bethlehem; but, after the occupation of Palestine by the Crusaders in A.D. 1099, it took a high position in the esteem of the Christians. In A.D. 1102, King Baldwin I, who succeeded Godfrey de Bouillon, was crowned at Bethlehem, and, a few years later, the place was made the see of a Bishop. When the Christian kingdom was overthrown by Saladin in A.D. 1187, he took possession of Bethlehem some weeks before Jerusalem was captured, but, following the example of his predecessor, the Khalif Omar, he spared the church and left it in the hands of the Christians, but the right of worship in the apse was retained by the Mahomedans. In A.D. 1244, the Kharezmians, when they invaded Palestine, plundered the church but do not appear to have injured the building, which changed but little until the Turkish occupation in A.D. 1517, when a considerable amount of marble was removed for the repair of the mosques at Jerusalem. The roof, which had become very ruinous, was restored by the Greek Patriarch in A.D. 1641, at a cost of 100,000 crowns, which is said to have been the gift of a rich butcher in Constantinople.

From this time the rivalry between the Greek and Latin churches for the possession of the holy places at Bethlehem, steadily increased, and the fact that the Sultans sometimes gave privileges to the Greeks, and others to the Latins, did not lead to peace, and the dispute finally led to the Crimean war, when Russia supported the claims of the Greeks, and France those of the Latins; but since the conclusion of that war there has been comparative peace, due to the firmness with which the Turkish authorities maintain order in the church,

and the better feelings which seem to animate Christians of different denominations. Father Abel concludes the volume with the words:—
“ Nous connaissons assez de Grecs dont l'esprit pondéré et juste sait
“ tolérer ce qui n'est pas de leur bord, et avec qui un arrangement est
“ toujours possible. Depuis quelques années la paix paraît mieux
“ assise, grâce à la sage direction des autorités civiles et religieuses,
“ intéressées dans la question des Lieux Saints. Les conflits si
“ pénibles à toute conscience Chrétienne se font plus rares. Plaise
“ à Dieu qui cette tranquillité n'ait pas de fin, et que nous puissions
“ chanter avec vérité cette antienne des vêpres de Noël, qui célèbre
“ l'avènement du Roi pacifique dont toute la terre désire contempler
“ la face: ‘Rex pacificus magnificatus est ejus cultum desiderat
“ universa terra.’” All Christians will hope, like the good Fathers, that in future peace may reign at the place, which, there is little reason to doubt, was really the scene of the birth of the Saviour of mankind.

To return to Chapters 2 and 3, which contain the description of the architecture of the Church of the Nativity, by Father Vincent, accompanied by a series of plans and plates, which are deserving of the highest praise. He enters at great length into the question as to whether the existing building is altogether the work of Constantine, or whether the original church built by him was enlarged by the Emperor Justinian, and, as regards this important matter, he has arrived at a different conclusion from Mr. Harvey, who, in the work referred to above, gave it as his opinion that the whole church, including the three eastern apses, dated from the fourth century, while Father Vincent, after a most careful study of the construction of the building, concludes, that while the nave and side aisles are Constantian work, the apses were added in the time of Justinian, and he gives two excellent plans to illustrate his views. The reasons for his conclusions are cogent and will probably satisfy most people, but it is very desirable that those who are interested in the problem should read the two books together, and thus form their own conclusions. Whatever these may be everyone will admire the thorough manner in which Father Vincent has treated the subject, and will be grateful to him for the manner in which he has described the Church of the Nativity, one of the most interesting Christian buildings in the world.

C. M. WATSON.

Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909.—Division II. Ancient Architecture in Syria, by Howard Crosby Butler; *Division III. Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria*, by Enno Littmann, David Magie, Jr., and Duane Reed Stuart; *Section A: Southern Syria. Part 4, Bosr'ā*.

We are again favoured by Princeton University with a valuable contribution to our Library. The present volume is a continuation of the series already received, and deals with the antiquities of the city of Bosrā, or Bostrā, still "the most important in the great area to the south-east of Damascus," as it was the largest of the Roman cities of this region in Imperial times. Being well supplied with water, and on important trade routes, it must have flourished for many centuries before Trajan made it the capital of the *Provincia Arabia*, and it continued to flourish through the Middle Ages. The Pilgrim route to Mecca passed through Bosrā. When this route was changed for one more westerly, the city declined and was almost deserted—only one of its mosques now remains in use. All through the nineteenth century Bosrā was visited from time to time by European travellers, from Seetzen in 1805-7 to Prof. Brünnow in 1898. Valuable architectural notes were made by the Count de Vogué in 1861, and several other travellers published sketches or plans; but it was the careful investigation of Prof. Brünnow, published in his *Provincia Arabia* (1904-1909), which must remain the most valuable record. To his work Mr. Butler frequently and gratefully refers, and evidently regards his own labours, as set forth in the present volume, as supplementary to those of his predecessor. This by no means detracts from their value; on the contrary, we have all the advantage of confirmatory evidence by a second pair of well-trained eyes, as well as an extended series of observations.

Mr. Butler's work at Bosrā has been done with the same zeal and the same care that distinguish his previous volumes. Where his opinion differs from that of a previous traveller, he gives his reasons but is not dogmatic.

That the ruins present many difficult questions is plain to any careful reader. Here is a vast surface, for the most part a chaos of the stones that at some time formed buildings, Nabataean, Roman, Christian or Moslem. Here and there stand up among them remains of buildings, of which the plan or purpose may be

traced. Even these are encumbered by closely packed modern hovels of mud. During the greater part of the periods to which such remains must belong, it was the common practice to utilize the materials and important details of destroyed or superseded buildings — a practice which alone complicates questions of date. The fact which seems to emerge with certainty is that the city was laid out with colonnaded streets and important public buildings under Roman rule. Mr. Butler has traced the plans of several of these buildings, and gives many drawn details. Apparently none of the columns were fluted, although the capitals represented various orders. Probably the material did not lend itself to fluting, although in some cases Corinthian capitals were elaborately carved, as were also some of the "Ionic" capitals of the street colonnade. Occasionally columns of very unusual proportion occur. Nabataean inscriptions have been found over a considerable area. A temple, a large theatre, a palace, baths, a basilica, and two immense reservoirs are among the more ancient pagan remains. A cathedral and other churches represent the early centuries of Christianity; while some half-dozen mosques indicate the subsequent Moslem activity.

Mr. Butler illustrates many of these, with restorations of their original form. Of the theatre he gives (with appropriate acknowledgment) Prof. Brünnow's plan and section, and of the cathedral he draws upon the plans and notes of the Count de Vogué, whose visit was made when much more remained than now. However, so large a dome, resting on a drum with no lateral buttressing, is not very convincing.

Mr. Butler's explanatory plans and drawings are clear and simple, and his photographs helpful to understanding the existing state of the site. The drawings are open to one criticism: the lettering on them is, in many cases, far too large, and throws the eye out of focus for the detail of the drawing itself; a common fault, defeating its own purpose. Illustrations 232, 233, 238 may be cited as instances.

The notes on the coins of the locality, and those recording the Greek and Latin inscriptions, appear to be most careful, and are accompanied by valuable and scholarly references and suggestions.

J. D. C.

Scenic Studies of the Bible Background, by Sophie M. Nicholls, M.A., F.R.G.S., with Maps and Illustrations. (Longmans, London, 1914.)

Miss Nicholls opens her preface by the words: "This little book can be read by itself, but is intended more particularly to act as a guide to interpretation of the typical series of wall pictures to which the maps and descriptions refer. The pictures and book together are planned for use in schools," etc., etc. A list of the pictures (12) is given; they illustrate various parts and aspects of Palestine. Such books undoubtedly fulfil a very useful purpose, especially when well and simply written, as this is, and without the "gush" which too often renders them distasteful to readers, whether young or old. It is most desirable that children should have some correct ideas of the physical aspects of the country where lay the scenes about which they read in their Bibles. Fortunately, those who teach have now the means of treating this subject with some approach to accuracy, and have no longer an excuse for the ignorance prevalent even a generation ago.

Miss Nicholl's little book should be helpful. One can but regret, however, that a number of the pictures in the book itself are so very small in scale: they might easily have been enlarged, and with advantage.

J. D. C.

Mélanges de la faculté orientale, Tome VI; Université saint Joseph. Beyrouth, Syrie.

Prof. Ronzevalle gives the text and translation of an Arabic treatise on music, composed about 1848 by Michel Mušaqa, a Syrian Christian residing at Damascus. It need hardly be said that Arabic music differs essentially from European in its scales, its intervals, and its tones, and it thereby acquires a character that is not always pleasing to the educated Western ear. The Oriental musician does not learn his trade from written books, but by placing himself under some noted master, where he acquires a knowledge of as many native airs as possible, and becomes expert in the manipulation of the native musical instruments, until at length he blossoms out as a recognized master himself. As a consequence, Oriental treatises on music are scarce, and the Western musician finds it very difficult to arrive at the basic principles of Oriental melody. This difficulty is increased by the fact that there is no Arabic musical notation, Oriental tunes having to be learned by ear,

so that it is only by actual travel in the East that the European student can hope to gain any extensive acquaintance with the subject. The treatise dealt with by Prof. Ronzevalle is, therefore, of great importance, because it places in the hands of European musicians an exposition of the principles and practice of the Arabic system of music which cannot readily be obtained elsewhere. The article is provided with eight tables, and full indexes, and it has been printed separately as a pamphlet.

Prof. Jouon continues his studies of Semitic philology, including some notes on the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.

Prof. Cheikho contributes a classified catalogue of the historical manuscripts contained in the Oriental department of the library of the Université St. Joseph.

Father de Jerphanion publishes 145 *Inscriptions Byzantines de la Région d'Urgub en Cappadoce*.

Prof. Chaine gives the Coptic and Ethiopic texts of a Sermon on Penitence attributed to St. Cyril of Alexandria, together with a French translation. These texts will be of considerable interest to Coptic and Ethiopic students.

E. J. PILCHER.

In the Journal of the German Palestinian Society (Vol. XXXVII), Dr. Theodor Kuhntreiber gives numerous useful topographical observations based upon his tours in Palestine in 1912. He visited 'Ain Kadis, but does not share the enthusiasm of some other travellers for the little oasis. Dr. Mader contributes an illustrated account of megalithic monuments west of the Jordan; so far from this district being devoid of them, as was once thought, in Galilee alone there must be some ninety. Dr. Schumacher makes his usual reports of the progress of the work east of the Jordan. In Part II, p. 127, he describes (with plato) the so-called Hittite lion found at *Sheikh Sa'd*. Dr. Dalman gives, *inter alia*, some interesting little inscriptions. A much needed effort is made to systematize the odds and ends of Palestinian archaeology, and Dr. Thiersch invites attention to the necessity of co-ordinating the material scattered about the civilized world. An excellent start is made by Dr. Karl Wigand, who deals with Palestinian vases in the museums of North Germany (pp. 154-172). Four seals are described by Dr. P. Schroeder, two (in old Hebrew) are interesting, as belonging to father and son, viz., to אֶלְזָכָר, son of יְהוֹחִיל (a new name!), and to שְׁבִי, son of the first mentioned; more curious is an elaborately inscribed and deco-

rated seal, representing a bearded deity, Assyrian style, holding the Egyptian sign of life, and surrounded by various symbolical emblems. Dr. Thomsen makes a report upon the literature dealing with the geography and topography of ancient Palestine, published during 1910-1913; it furnishes a most welcome bird's-eye view of the work of the last few years. To Dr. Thiersch we are also indebted for an admirable report on the archaeological work of the year. He summarizes in turn what has been done at Shechem, 'Ain Shems, Caesarea Palaestina, Dibon, Ashkelon, Alexandreion and small "illegitimate" excavations. This is followed by long reviews of the published account of the excavations at Jericho (by Sellin and Watzinger) and Gezer (by Macalister). The whole is illustrated by 22 plates.

The *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* issued by the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology contains several articles of great interest for Biblical and archaeological studies. In Vol. VI, Nos. 1, 2, Mr. G. A. Wainwright has an admirable discussion of "the Keftiu-people of the Egyptian Monuments." The subject, as is well-known, involves the Philistines, their Caphtor home, their civilization, and the history of culture in the ancient Levant. Mr. Wainwright makes a fresh and independent survey (with nine plates of illustrations), mainly on the basis of the archaeological material. He does not admit the identification of the people of Keft (or Keftiu) with the Minoans of Crete. He argues for East Cilicia, showing that the distinctive features appear to come between the Aegean Isles and Syria. The Philistines are not specifically Cretan, although the results of excavation do show that there was undoubtedly connection between Crete and the Palestinian coast. It is tentatively suggested that of the confederacy of tribes generally known under the name of Philistine, the Pelethim (Philistines) formed the Asia Minor and dominant part, while the Chorethim represent the Cretan section. This new and independent investigation of the material is very welcome, even though one may not agree with all the author's suggestions.

S. A. C.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

New light upon incidents in the Exodus.—An interesting sidelight on incidents in the Exodus is noted by Prof. C. M. Coborn in an illustrated article on Kadesh-Barnea (*Homiletic Review*, April, pp. 261 *sqq.*). “The mining and drilling of rocks was no rare thing in the Mosaic era.” “It is made plain by various texts that to strike the rock with official authority was a well-understood signal that the engineers were to begin work at that point at once.” In one old Egyptian text we read: “The gold appeared on the mountain at the mention of thy name! When thou didst speak: ‘come thou upon the mountain,’ it rained immediately! When the prince said: ‘I will have a well here,’ the water which was in the depth was obedient to him.” According to these old panegyries “the Pharaoh had but to speak the word and lo! the water leaped from the living rock. No miracle was accomplished and no miracle was reported. It was simply the ordinary pictorial Oriental method of saying that the prince gave the command for the work to be done and it was done quickly and successfully.” That the Hebrews were accustomed so to describe similar achievements is fortunately settled by the old popular song, Num. xxi, 17 *seq.* “A well dug with a sceptre or staff is evidently one dug with picks at the command of the ruler who holds the sceptre and staff.” Professor Coborn goes on to say: “The finding of water at the needed moment and in the most unexpected place was a divine providence so marvellous that Kadesh-Barnea was always remembered as the scene of God’s special manifestation. The waters may have been hidden in the cliff from the time of the earth’s creation: but when at the command of Moses the limestone barrier was broken away, they poured forth in what still seems a miraculous stream.”

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The P.E.F. and the War.—Subscribers will hardly need to be reminded that the great change of circumstances which has taken place since the issue of the last *Quarterly Statement* has had an inevitable effect upon the work of the Fund. We were in friendly correspondence with persons of like interests with ourselves in many parts of Europe, and comparing results with other Societies engaged in the investigation of Palestine. Now all Europe is torn by war, and correspondence or comparison of opinions is no longer possible. In Palestine itself the most we can hope for is neutrality until the war is ended. As far as we can now judge, no serious work of excavation can as yet be attempted. Fortunately our Survey to the South of Palestine was completed before the outbreak of war; but the present pressure on the War Office is likely to delay the completion of the Map on which the exports were engaged, since the R.E. officers who made the Survey will now have more urgent duties. We must hope that, whenever peace is restored, the interest in Palestine which is common to ourselves and our foreign correspondents may be sufficient to bring about the renewal of communications on the same basis of friendly courtesy as previously existed.

The Publication of Results of Excavation.—Although new work of excavation is thus suspended, this Society may feel that such suspension is not without some advantage. It has much to do in the publication of the results of work already done, and in clearing off the debt accumulated on that work which has for some little time been a source of anxiety to the Committee. It is opportune

to remind the members of the Society that it is the *publication of results* which makes the explorations themselves valuable to the world. Moreover, it may not be useless to point out that some of the most valuable results are derived from the publication of details which appear to the casual reader dry and uninteresting. Of such are the careful records during recent years of the finds of pottery, which have been the means of checking many errors, and of building up something like a history of Early Palestine, and of tracing its communications with other countries.

The soil of Palestine, an arable and pastoral country with considerable rainfall, is not such as to preserve for many centuries (as in Egypt) all the evidences of the daily life in a past civilization. Nor does Palestine teem with examples of the architecture, sculpture, or inscribed monuments of the past as does Egypt. Historical evidence is scanty, and needs more expert analysis. There was singularly little art of any kind in Palestine. But the expert study of such evidence as we have, and a careful comparison of that with the evidences found in adjoining countries, and with the narrative of the Bible, have resulted, *through publication*, in an immense advance in our knowledge of the Holy Land.

The Annual.—The volume of the Annual for 1914 will contain a full description of the Survey of the South Country: The Desert of the Wanderings. Like our previous Surveys, the actual work of mapping this district was conducted by officers of the Royal Engineers. The outbreak of war so soon after their return may very probably cause delay in putting together and drawing to scale the results of their labours; and this makes it impossible, for the time, to fix a date for the publication; for it is essential that the Survey itself should accompany the Report. The archaeologists who joined the expedition are also preparing full reports on such evidence as they found; so that the volume will embody the whole results of the Survey. It would hardly be just to those engaged on this expedition to say nothing of the difficulties and discomforts by which it was attended, although they themselves say little about them. For the most part a peculiarly arid and rocky desert without shade, and yielding no supplies, travelling needed not only endurance in such a country, but no little foresight and tact. It was unknown except to wandering Arabs who alone knew the wells, and are notoriously unfriendly to strangers. Of the few travellers

who have ever attempted it most have journeyed in haste and fear, and their accounts have been hurried and inaccurate.

It should also be mentioned that Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence, the archaeologists, had to join very hurriedly and without such equipment as would have reduced the hardships of such travel.

We have received the first copy of *Art and Archaeology*, an illustrated magazine published by the Archaeological Institute of America (Concord, N.H., and Washington: July, 1914). The subscription price is two dollars a year. The first number contains articles on Masterpieces of Aboriginal American Art; the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome; Ancient Babylonian Antiquities; Excavations at Vrokastro, Crete (in 1912); "Archaeological Perplexities," &c. The number is well printed, and the illustrations are excellent.

The Rev. M. H. Segal writes from Newcastle-on-Tyne, just as we go to press, to say that the identity of the inscription on the weight discussed in the *Q.S.*, p. 99, with the difficult Hebrew word in 1 Sam. xiii, 21, has already been suggested by him in his (Hebrew) commentary on the Books of Samuel. His commentary has been in type since Oct., 1913, but the publication (by Kahana of Kieff) has been unavoidably delayed. His own interpretation of the troublesome passage differs from those hitherto suggested, and will be printed later.

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the (2 in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in six sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete six sheets will be 7s. 6d. If desired, the map can be mounted on linen and a roller, or to fold. It will be ready for issue during this year.

The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews are to publish Archdeacon Dowling's illustrated book entitled *The City of Safed: A Refuge of Judaism*. The book has an introduction by the Bishop in Jerusalem and will be 1s. net. We regret to hear that the Archdeacon has felt obliged, owing to ill-health, to leave Palestine. Dr. Donald A. Coles, English Hospital, Haifa, has kindly consented to act in his stead as Honorary Secretary for Haifa. The Archdeacon proposes to enlarge and publish in more permanent form his articles on "The Episcopal Succession in Jerusalem," which appeared in the *Q.S.* of October, 1913, and January, 1914. He is anxious to make his *Notitia* more correct and complete, and for this will be glad to receive any suggestions. His postal address is 47, Anerley Park, London, S.E.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5s. ; unbound, 3s. 6d.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2,000}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3s. Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10,000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5s.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6s. 9d. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10s. 6d. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions early in the year, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1913 is given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete

an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6s., by post 6s. 4d.

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6s. The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary General Secretary for Palestine, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, will give all information necessary.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. XXXVI,

Part 5 : A Preliminary Account of a Sumerian Legend of the Flood and the Fall of Man, by S. Langdon ; The Amorite Personal Names in Gen. xiv, by the Rev. W. T. Piltner.

The Biblical World, June, July, 1914.

Records of the Past, March–April, 1914.

American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XVIII, 2 (1914).

Art and Archaeology, Vol. I, No. 1, July, 1914, see p. 159.

The London Quarterly Review, July, 1914.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, July, 1914.

The Homiletic Review, July, 1914 : The Idea of God in Babylonia and in Israel, by Prof. Ed. König.

Échos d'Orient, May–June, 1914.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ. May–July, 1914 : Ashdod and Anathoth, by John Poculides.

Al-Mashriq : Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle, August, 1914 : The Bedouin Judge among the Trans-Jordanic Tribes, by the Abbé Paul Salaman ; The Maronite Library of Aleppo, by the Abbé Ibr. Harfouche ; etc., etc.

See also below, pp. 201–207.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire specially to acknowledge with thanks the following valuable contributions to the Library :—

From the Trustees of the British Museum :—

Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine, by G. F. Hill, M.A.

See below, pp. 192–199.

From the Authors :—

Hittite Burial Customs, by C. Leonard Woolley ; reprinted from *The Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vol. VI, No. 3.

Palestine and the Jews, by Frank G. Jannaway.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten*. (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Petrée* (1829).

Prof. E. Huntingdon, *Palestine and its Transformation*. (Constable and Co.)

Père Abel, *Une Croisière autour de la Mer Morte* (1909).

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

RECENT DISCOVERIES AT JERUSALEM.

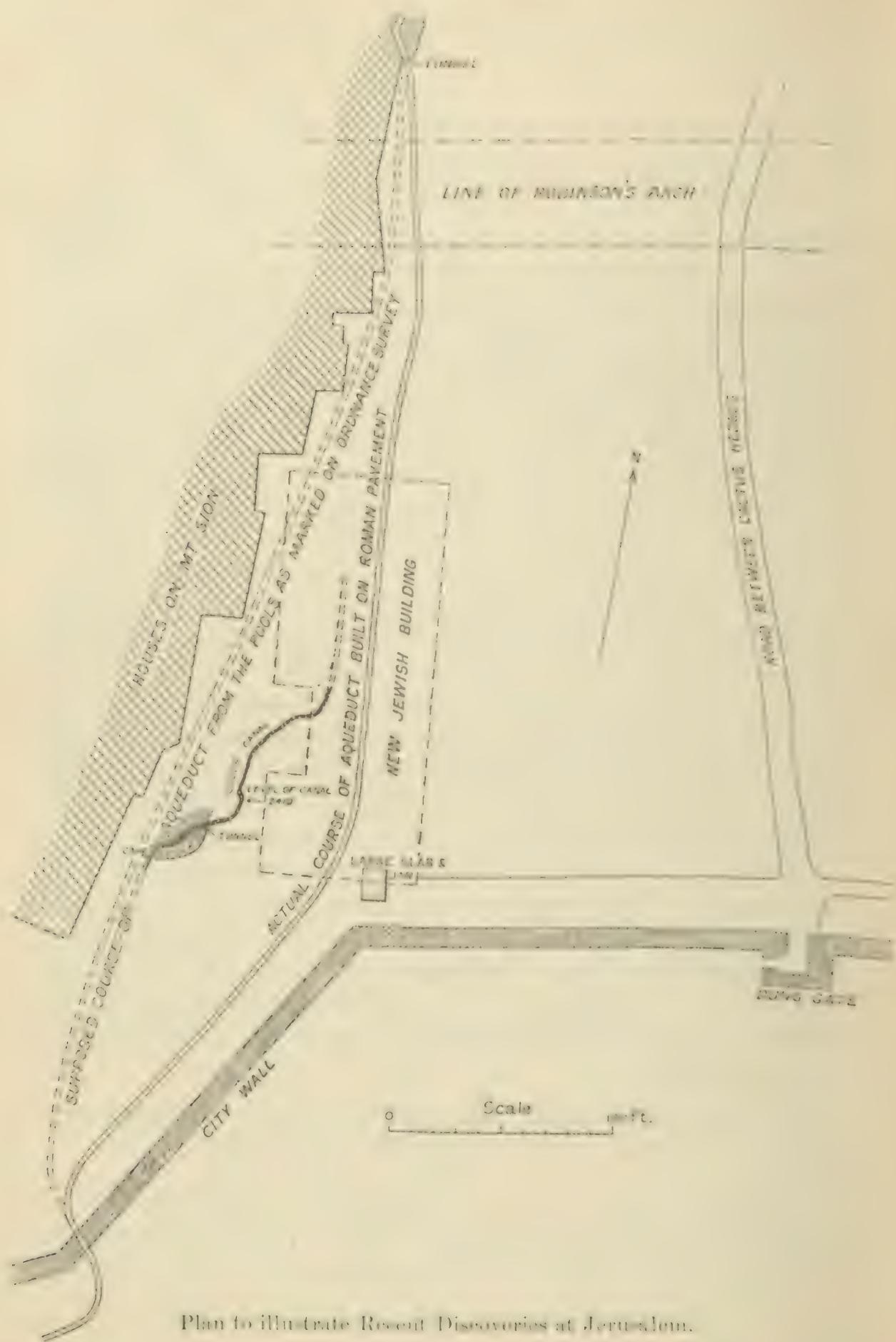
LETTERS have been received from Mr. E. F. Beaumont, in continuation of his reports given at page 29 of the *Quarterly Statement* for January, which contain some interesting information with regard to the excavations in progress outside the Damascus Gate, and also respecting some work that is in progress to the west of the Dung Gate, which will throw valuable light on the line of aqueduct leading round the western hill of Jerusalem from Solomon's Pools. As regards the first, he writes: "A sewage system for the Jewish colonies north-west of the city, and for some other parts also, is in process of construction. In connection with these a trench is being dug along the road leading north from the Damascus Gate towards the English church of St. George. This cutting begins at the new coffee house, the excavations for the foundations of which yielded the interesting section published in the *Quarterly Statement*.¹ Already Roman sherds have come up from ten feet depth." In a letter dated August 1st, Mr. Beaumont says: "The sewer trench was dug twelve feet deep, and carried, in its first section, 600 feet northward from the Damascus Gate, and in no place was the rock struck, nor even buildings found, except a poor wall and a cistern built in the rubbish. We made a careful examination of the sherds *in situ*, and, as Samian pieces were found above Arab, one concludes that the rubbish has not accumulated there, but was dumped from inside the walls. This trench will eventually pass through the suggested line of the third wall, and we are watching to see if any evidence of the latter appears."

Mr. Beaumont's reports, with reference to the work inside the south city wall, and near the Dung Gate, are as follows:—

Jerusalem, March 31st, 1914.

"The work on the new Jewish Hospital near the Dung Gate, which Dr. Masterman asked me to keep touch of, is progressing.

¹ See *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1914, p. 32.



Plan to illustrate Recent Discoveries at Jerusalem.

“ Numerous shafts have been sunk to the rock, and more are yet to be put down. I have visited the place several times, and, in company with Father Vincent, have obtained the rock level at several places. He has made a section, and was kind enough to allow me to copy it to send to you, which I will do as soon as I have run the levels from one of the trench marks in the vicinity.

“ The true course of the aqueduct from Solomon’s Pools has been ascertained from where it enters the city to the tunnel in the western hill, or so-called Mount Sion. The Roman Wall supporting the aqueduct is built on a Roman pavement, which rests on older walls, thought by Father Vincent to date from about the sixth century B.C. At the base of this old wall a large stone slab was found, supported about four inches above the levelled rock by dressed stone blocks at either end. This large slab, which measures 5 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 6 inches, has not yet been removed, so we do not know what is under it, but we will try to be there when it is lifted. Leaning against the slab was a jar about 2 feet high, which had been crushed by the pressure of the rubbish that is about 14 feet deep at this place. Father Vincent thinks the jar belongs to the sixth or seventh century B.C.

“ The trench is to be pushed on up the hill from the point where the slab was found. This point is just 20 feet north of the city wall, and 10 feet east of the aqueduct as it exists. The actual course of the aqueduct is 85 feet east of the line of aqueduct, as marked on the Ordnance Survey map.”

May 26th, 1914.

“ The work on the building near the Dung Gate is progressing rather slowly, so I have delayed sending the section, etc., as two more shafts are to be sunk west of the aqueduct, and I wish to extend the new section which I am making up through these shafts.

“ The large slab has been lifted, and nothing but the smooth rock found underneath. There is considerable interest attached to it, however, as, when it was first uncovered, the ancient jar was found just beside it, along with a partially burned ram’s horn and bits of charcoal and burnt sheep horns. In the jar was sandy earth and charcoal. Father Vincent, and Captain Weil, who has charge of the Siloam excavations, reconstructed the large jar, and both date it as early as the time of the Captivity or the return of

" Nehemiah. The style is similar to that of the jar from Tomb " No. 7 at Beth Shemesh, shown in the last Annual, Plate XLIX, " but with a slightly more pointed base. Their opinion is that the " slab and jar had to do with a foundation sacrifice, and this seems " reasonable."

August 1st, 1914.

" Regarding the work on the south side of the city, I would say " that the first stage of the building is complete, but I cannot finish " the section as I would like to do until they have completed the " second stage of the excavation, which is the cutting into the high " bank of *débris*, seen to the left in the enclosed Photograph No. 1. " This will no doubt disclose the great scarp on which the buildings " seen above are built.

" Since writing last, another distinct and probably earlier canal " from Solomon's Pools has been found to the west of the one we " call Roman. We were able to go into this for a distance of about " 50 feet towards the south-west, as it here emerged from a short " tunnel into a cave, and the way was blocked with fallen stones. " See Photograph No. 2. In some places we could walk almost " upright. We also traced its course some distance northwards. " Below is a rough section of the canal looking north" (see No. 3). " The canal is 2 feet 6 inches high and has 30 feet of rubbish " above it.

" I enclose a rough tracing (see " plan) which will give some idea " of these aqueducts and of the " position of the large stone. The " last canal found, which is indicated " by the heavy black line, shows " every evidence of being the older. " The level given for this canal " may be subject to some slight " modification if we succeed in find- " ing the bench mark on the Dung " Gate, which is now covered with " rubbish some feet in depth."

In the same letter, Mr. Beaumont writes that the Fathers of St. Anne have been continuing their excavations at the Pool of Bethesda, and that Father Vincent is engaged on a study of the

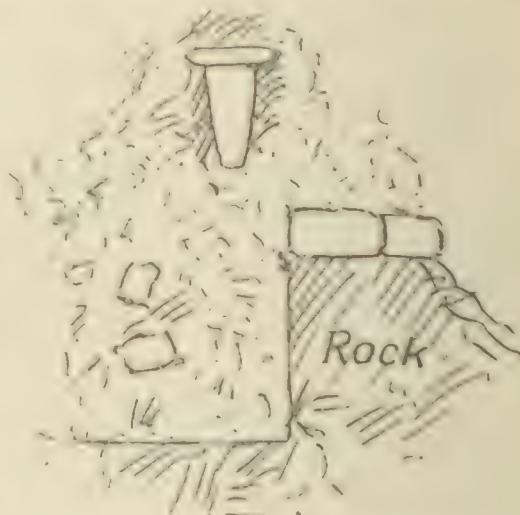


Fig. 3.—Section of the Canal.



Fig. 1.—View showing Bank of Debris.



Fig. 2.—Cave showing Access to Canal.

architectural history of the Church of St. Anne. The result of his investigations will be of great interest to all students of Jerusalem history, as the original church on this site is one of the most ancient in the city and is shown in the Medeba mosaic.

Mr. Beaumont also writes:—“ You are no doubt aware of the “ activity of the American Standard Oil Company on the south- “ west side of the Dead Sea. They are at present constructing a “ road, about 50 miles long, from Hebron to the Dead Sea at great “ expense, and are said to be employing 2,000 men on this work. “ They are evidently quite satisfied that oil will be found, and are “ bringing out by special steamer a great quantity of machinery “ and eight motor trucks and automobiles. The Pierson Company’s “ men are prospecting on the east side of the Dead Sea, and appear “ equally hopeful of success.”

C. M. W.

S A F E D.

By DR. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

SAFED (سَافِد), is one of the most highly situated towns in Palestine, it lies 2,750 feet above sea level, as compared with Jerusalem 2,500 feet, and Damascus 2,264 feet. Hebron is, however, 300 feet higher. The height of Safed is the more striking because of its wide outlook over the low-lying country around: thus the Lake of Galilee, which in the clear atmosphere looks very near, is over 3,400 feet below it; and the famous Tabor and Carmel, each only 1,800 odd feet above sea level, seem as of no height at all. The descent from the town of Safed to the lower ground is abrupt on all sides, and the steep and winding paths are still only possible to pedestrians or to horses and mules. Although visible from the south and west from considerable distances, and pointed out by the dragoman to the traveller going from Nazareth to Tiberias as the “City set on a Hill,” the town is, except from the west, hidden from the approaching traveller, until the ascent of the steep mountain slopes is almost completed.

As compared with other Palestinian towns, Safed is a large one, having a population of upwards of 25,000, of whom some 11,000 are Jews. A considerable number of the latter are foreign subjects. According to the British Consular Agent, 2,500 are Austrian, some 1,000 or more French, 600 Persian, 150 British, and 100 American subjects. A much larger number are foreign by origin, but have lost their foreign protection from various causes. Safed, like many other places in Palestine and Syria, has recently suffered much loss of population through the emigration of great numbers of its young people, both Jews and Moslems, to America, especially to South America. The Christians are few: there are some 400 Greek Catholics, two families of orthodox Greeks, and a few Protestants. The Moslem population is of mixed origin and composition. One of the quarters of the town is called Harat el-Karad, the district of the Kurds, which points to one strain in the population. Then there are many families of Algerian origin. The P.E.P. *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 199, states that "the Moslems are about half of them Algerians, followers of 'Abd el-Kader in his exile." Other elements contributing to the mixed Moslem population are Damascenes, Bedouin from the Jordan Valley, and immigrants from some of the neighbouring villages which look to Safed as their business centre. The Moslems seem, however, to conform increasingly in costume to a single type. The men universally wear the kefiyah and 'agal, with loose baggy trousers. They are an active and hardy race. The Moslem women wear rather simple garments (compared with those of the towns of Southern Palestine), of blue material, while the more well-to-do favour an overall of striped yellow silk. The women also, usually have a loose blue covering as a headress, with which they may partially cover their faces on the approach of a stranger, but they never actually veil, and they are open and frank in their manner. As a whole the young women have good features, and as the larger number are accustomed to carry spring-water daily up the hillside for their domestic use, they have a fine carriage. The indigenous people of Safed are a pleasing contrast to those of Judaea: they are better dressed, better mannered, and far more vigorous. They suffer considerably from various forms of tuberculosis but not greatly from malaria, which is far less prevalent than in Jerusalem.

The hill-slopes, as the traveller approaches Safed from the south, are peculiarly dry and rocky—in places little but a wilderness except in early spring—but around the town itself there are many perennial

spring, of which a few are very plentiful. Safed is situated upon strata of extremely soft, porous limestone which appears to retain water to an extraordinary degree. Within the town itself are several wells: there is one in the Moslem market, two a little south of the new Jewish hospital, one in the Spanish-Jewish quarter, and several in the Moslem quarter at the head of Wady Hamra, but all these yield but indifferent water—brackish or unfit to drink. Of the springs near Safed the most famous are, 'Ain el-Āfīh ("the wholesome spring") to the north, a spring whose waters are highly esteemed by all classes; 'Ain Hasel ("the spring of produce"); and 'Ain ez-Zerka in the neighbourhood. A little more to the north and higher up the hill there are three or more springs, 'Ain ej-Jedāidah, 'Ain el Rummāneh, etc., "bain ej-Jebelain" ("between the two mountains"), the water of which is now collected and carried in iron pipes to a small cistern on the southern side of the Castle Hill, from which it is distributed by some dozen taps in various districts of the town. This modern public water supply is of four years' institution, but it replaces an older system which had fallen into disuse. The "water towers" belonging to the older system are still to be seen on the east side of the Castle Hill. There are a few small springs on the western slope, but of no value in quantity, and dangerous for use because impregnated with sewage. Somewhat further out there are a great number of plentiful springs which are in most cases utilized to produce areas of fruitfulness. They are in places the property of villages around, e.g., 'Ain Biria and 'Ain esh-Sheba' connected with Biria; and 'Ain ez-Zeitūn with the village of Zeitun. In the north-west is 'Ain Jinn, a spring at times intermittent, at the head of the Wādy Limōn; to the south-west, on the edge of the Wady Limōn, lies 'Ain el-Hōsh, while to the south is 'Ain el-Kahaleh, just below the great precipitous rock of Akbara. This spring, though not large and of little importance for irrigation, is well known as the first spring for travellers approaching Safed over the rough, and often thirsty, journey from the Gennesaret district. The spring is mentioned in some Jewish writings ("Gates of Jerusalem," by Moshé ben Menahem Mendle Richer) under the name 'Ain Kahel.

This writer says: "'Ain Kahel is a very large and deep valley in which there is a spring of good water, and the place is called 'Ain Kahel after the spring. There are a few Bedouin inhabitants; to the east is a very high mountain, almost precipitous, on the top

of which a place is seen to be hewn out in the shape of a filled-in gate, and they say that there have been hidden away all the vessels of the Beth el Mikdash, and thus it is written in the Amik ha Melk and also in the tract Kalem, in order to show to the children of Israel what we had and what we lost."

Higher up this same valley are other springs, 'Ain Akbara, which supplies the village of that name, and the two springs 'Ain el-Hamrat el-foka and 'Ain el-Hamrat el-tabta. These two springs, though at some distance from Safed, can justifiably be called Safed springs as they irrigate gardens belonging to Safed people. 'Ain el-Hamra el-foka is also one of considerable importance to travellers, as it is on the road from the north end of the lake (from Tabighah, Tell Hūm, etc., to Safed), and is a great place for watering horses, mules, and donkeys, both in going and coming.

No account of Safed would be complete without some mention of the extraordinarily interesting views to be obtained from all sides except the north. The view to the south is best seen from the top of the ruined castle in the centre of the town. It takes in a wide range, from a peep at Carmel (from some points near the town even a part of the bay of Akka is visible) in the extreme south-west to a wide range over the Jaulān and the mountains of Gilead in the south-east. Between these points a great part of Lower Galilee, the Hills of Nazareth, though not the town itself, Tabor with its monasteries clearly visible through the glass, Jebel Dahi (little Hermon) with the little church of Nain gleaming white in the early morning sun, the mountains of Gilboa, a little piece of Esdraelon, and the hills of Samaria, range behind range at least as far as Ebal.

A little to the south-east is the Jordan Valley, the Lake of Galilee in almost its whole extent, the Plain of Gennesaret, Magdala, Tiberias, with its baths to the south, and es Semakh are all visible. Southward of Kaukeb el-Hawa—the Crusading Belvoir—the valley disappears into indistinctness, but the easily recognized hill of Sartabeh is, on clear days, visible. A still more remarkable view is to be seen from the rugged eastern extremity of Jebel Kana'an; this view is perhaps the most notable in all Palestine. Almost at our feet lie several of the Jewish colonies, Jau'eneh, Esbaid, etc.; to the extreme north snow-clad Hermon towers up to its full height of about 9,000 feet from the low-lying valley of the Huleh; more directly north the highest snowy peaks of Lebanon can be seen on clear days. The whole Jordan Valley, from Banias in the north,

part of the marshes of the Huleh, Lake Huleh itself, the rough volcanic rocks through which the Jordan has cut its steep and rocky passage to the south, the Lake of Tiberias and much of the level valley bed to the south are visible. East of the valley is the great plateau of the Jaulan thickly dotted over with extinct volcanoes, while far to the east can dimly be seen the rugged mountains of Jebel Hauran, the stronghold of the Druzes. South of the Jaulan lies the Land of Gilead, now Jebel Ajlun, and further south the pastoral lands of Moab.

The most striking object to the west of Safed is the Jebel Jerinak, the highest point in Western Palestine, while more to the north the eye is arrested by the strange volcanic plateau of ej-Jish, over which appear a few houses of the village of ej-Jish itself, once the famous Gischala of Josephus. Many villages can be made out dotted over this region of Upper Galilee.

Most of the trade was at one time in the hands of the Jews, but during the last ten years much business, especially among the fellahin and Bedouin, has passed into the hands of the Moslems who can better afford to give credit because they can get help from the Government to enforce their claims. A large part of the fish trade of Upper Galilee is in the hands of Safed Jews. One Jew has the fishing rights of Huleh and 'Ain el-Mellahah for five years at £3,100 (Turkish), and he and another Jew have acquired for £600 (Turkish) the right to the Government's one-fifth of all the fish taken in Tiberias. The town of Safed is grouped around the remains of the once mighty fortress which now lies in ruins. It is divided into several districts. The main part (*Harat es-Surukh*) is on the south-west of the Castle Hill where is the *Suk*, or market-place; below, to the south-west of this, are Moslem and Christian houses (*Harat jami'a el-ahmar* and *Harat el-watir*), to the west the hill sides are thickly covered by the many terraced buildings of the Jews (*Harat el-Yahud*), the Ashkenazim above and the Sephardim (Spanish) Jews below. The hill-slopes are steep and in many places the roadways of the houses above are on the level of the roofs of the next row below. To the north-west are the two large hospitals and the new English Church, while to the east lie several quarters (*Harat el-Karab*, *Harat ej-jarah*, *Harat es-Sawwan*), etc., inhabited exclusively by Moslems; south-east is the Serai and the larger Moslem cemetery.

There has been much talk recently about making a carriage road from the Lake. The little steamboat belonging to the railway company

comes at times to the wooden pier at Tabighah from which it is, even to-day, but an easy three hours' ride to Safed. The carriage road, which it is estimated will cost 45,000 francs, will be 25 kilometres long. For some time there was talk that the Government meant to help by lending for the work a tabūr of soldiers (800) but negotiations appear to have fallen through. There is no doubt that the money could be readily obtained, chiefly by Jewish societies, if some security could be obtained that the funds would actually be used for this work. With a good road for carriages connecting Safed with the Lake, and thus by a short steamship trip with the Haifa-Damascus Railway, the prosperity of Safed would be greatly increased. Indeed the place is so loftily situated and is in the summer so cool as compared with many parts of the land that it is likely that Safed might develop into quite a health resort for European residents. The Government, it is said, plans the making of a carriage road viâ Merōn to Akka part of a military road to Damascus, but this is not nearly so urgent for Safed as one to the Lake.

The main interest of Safed must naturally be connected with Judaism, as this is one of the four "Holy Cities" of Palestine, and most recently it has the further more modern interest of being the centre and health resort for many of the low lying Jewish colonies. The Jews have a number of important societies connected with European organizations. The *Alliance Israélite* (a French Society) has boys' and girls' schools. A *Deutsches hilfverein* called Ezra, nominally more orthodox than the above, with strong Zionist leanings, also has a boys' and girls' school, the latter largely engaged in teaching Hebrew and lace making, and also a kindergarten school. The lace work is fostered by a Russian organization. There is a fine hospital built by Baroness Elmund de Rothschild but as yet unopened, the Baroness insisting that a considerable share of the cost of upkeep should be borne by local Jewish authorities. An Amsterdam Society however provides funds to enable a Jewish doctor to visit some of the poor gratis, while a Zionist Association assists another medical man in the same way. Two British Missionary Societies are working in Safed: the London Jews Society, which has a fine hospital and clinic with two British doctors, has also a church with a resident clergyman and schools; and the United Free Church of Scotland Jewish Missions Committee, which also has a Free Dispensary, now temporarily closed, and a

boarding and a day school. The British and Foreign Bible Society also supports an agent in Safed.

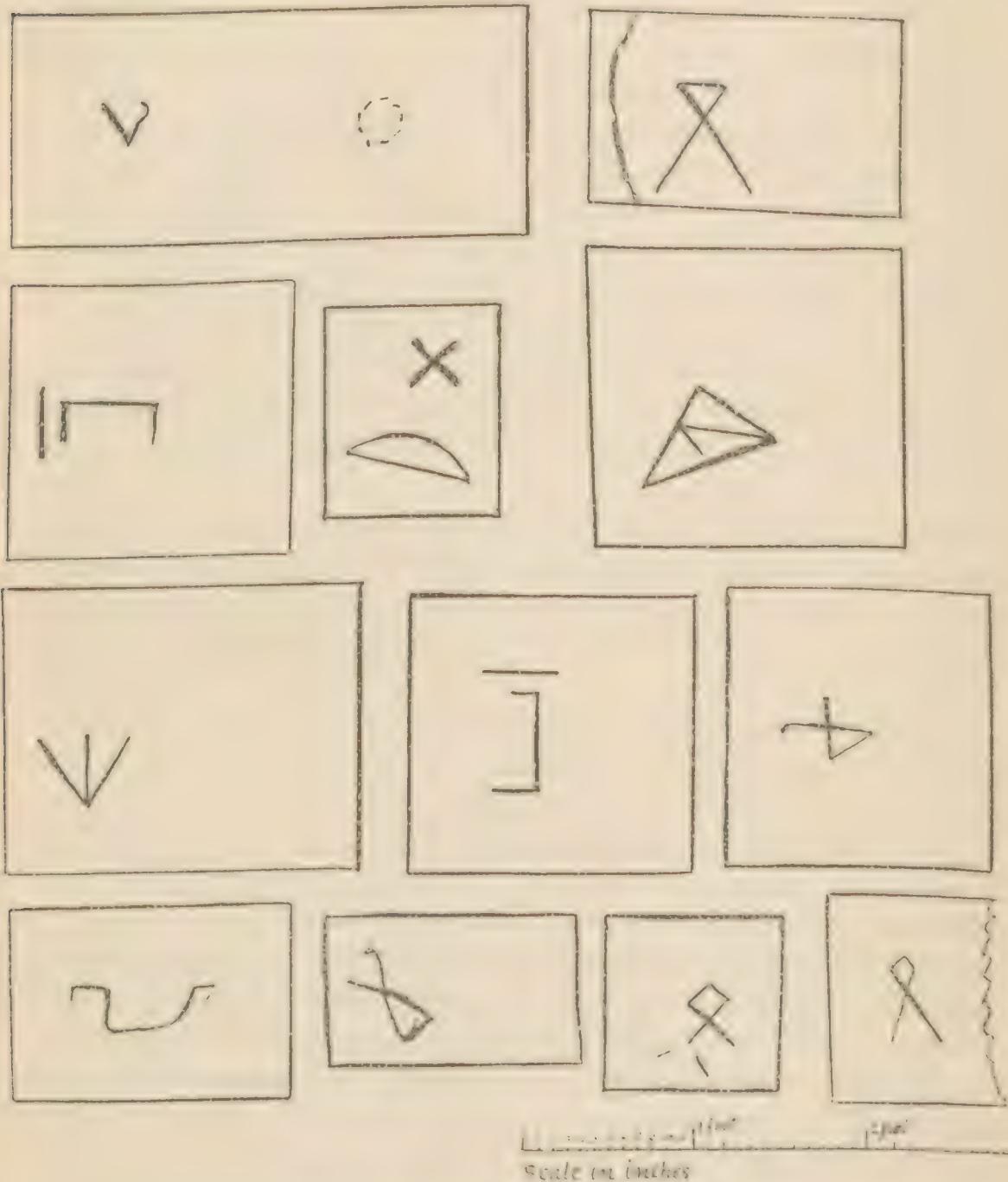
Safed is not rich in antiquities: there are a few ancient tombs in the neighbourhood, but there is little evidence of any extensive occupation of the site before the Middle Ages.

The great ruined castle with its double line of ramparts, making a total fortified area of about 350 yards by 150 yards, running roughly speaking north and south, though to-day an almost shapeless mass, still stimulates the imagination to conjure up the vast fortress which must here have dominated the country. Its previous state of ruin is said to be chiefly the result of the earthquake of 1759, though doubtless that of 1837 contributed to its decay. But long before that most of the masonry of its original construction must have perished, and that building which was destroyed in the eighteenth century was but the comparatively poor work of Dhahr el-Omer who dominated Galilee earlier in that century.¹ Almost all the well-cut masonry above the surface has been carted off, as the place has been used as a quarry for building stone for centuries; but everywhere below the surface the remains of the earlier buildings may be found. A thorough excavation of this site would be of undoubted interest. Near the "Keep" some large cisterns are still visible—a considerable source of danger to the unwary. There are also vaulted passages in places.

One in the south-west part of the outer moat has recently been opened for some 60 yards. At its north-west end, as far as it has been cleared, it is a fine vaulted passage, over seven feet high and four feet wide, with well-cut stones from one to two feet broad, and sometimes three feet long; at the other end, where the passage gradually curves east and then somewhat north-east, running towards (and perhaps under) the inner moat, the passage has been constructed of small stones, and, as a result of earthquake troubles, it has become extraordinarily twisted, the centre of the arch being diverted to the north, and the whole passage appearing here to be in imminent danger of collapsing. On the fine masonry of the north-west extremity are many "Mason's Marks," specimens of which, drawn to scale, I append (see page 176). It seems to me this passage must belong to the original Crusading work. Where the

¹ Sheikh Dhathr ibn 'Omer (1736-1778) was acknowledged by the Porte (who had no power to subdue him) as "Sheikh of Akka, Prince of Princes, Governor of Tiberias and Safed, and Sheikh of all Galilee."

passage eventually led to it is impossible to say without actual excavation; at the north-western extremity there is an embrasure in the outer wall for shooting through, but just before this, where a strong door was once situated, there are signs of steps leading downwards.



Mason's Marks on Stones in Safed Castle.

The only other buildings of interest are, the Jami'a el-ahmar, a mosque built of red and black stone in the southern part of the city, and said, on I know not what evidence, to have been the Church

of St. James of Crusading days; the Serai building, south of the Castle, said to be a reconstruction of a ruined castle of Dhahr el-Omer, with a modern clock tower recently added; and between the Serai and the castle the Mugharet Benat Ya'kub with a small mosque over it, a cave, very sacred to the eyes of the Moslems, where, it is reported, were buried "the daughters of Jacob." (See *Quarterly Statement*, 1898, pp. 29 and 30.) When rain is badly needed, both Jews and Moslems assemble to pray for it at this shrine. The Jews claim that the tomb of Shem is also here. Jews also go to the tomb of Hune Amagol at Fer'am to pray for rain. This worthy is supposed to have slept for seventy years and then awakened, like Rip van Winkle, to find everything changed.

The history of Safed is connected with two very distinct periods. There is no evidence that Safed is mentioned in the Bible or in the Talmud. All the attempts to connect the place with any early records are purely speculative. Tradition says that it was founded in the second century A.D. While there is no actual evidence, yet, this is probable, for Safed is most favourably situated as a place of escape from the intense heat of the Jordan Valley, and also, the place lies more or less in the centre of those (now ruined) Jewish synagogues which belong to this period. The country was thickly populated at this time, and it is unlikely that a site so well supplied with springs would be neglected. To that century belongs the famous Rabbi Shim'on ben Yochai, who taught in the neighbouring village of Meron, where his tomb is still held in reverence. During a century, beginning in nearly the middle of the twelfth century, Safed came into great importance in connection with the contests between Crusading military orders, and the Moslems.

During the latter part of the reign of Fulk (1140-1143) Christian king of Jerusalem, the Knights Templar erected a magnificent castle here. In 1157 King Baldwin III took refuge there. In the winter of 1188, a month's vigorous attack by Saladin, amidst rain and wind, caused the surrender of this castle along with that of the neighbouring Belyvoir (Kukeb el-Hawa). At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Latins obtained this fortress along with Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and Tiberias by treaty. In 1220 it was captured and at any rate partially destroyed by the Sultan of Damascus, but in 1240 Ismail of Damascus surrendered Safed and Shafe' Arnun (I Kalat esh-Shafe') to the Templars again. In 1261 the knights from Safed and neighbourhood, while

engaged in a raid in the Jaulān, were severely defeated by the Turkomans. The end of the domination of these knights was rapidly approaching. In the middle of June, 1266, the Sultan Baibars of Egypt began a great siege of the fortress. At the end of the month he commenced a vigorous bombardment; several attempts at assault were repulsed, but on July 23 the knights surrendered under promise that their lives should be spared. The Sultan broke his promise, and leading them forth to the opposite hill he slew them there. A cave full of bones and skulls is still pointed out, on a hill north-east of the Castle, as the place where the bodies of the luckless knights were thrown. From Safed the Sultan Baibars harassed the few remaining Christian possessions in Akka and elsewhere. During the spring and summer of 1267 the fortifications were repaired and re-strengthened (as is recorded by an inscription which was long visible on the walls). In the beginning of June, 1271, the Sultan issued from his headquarters in Safed and in a few days effected the capture of Montfort, now Kālarat el-Kurein, which belonged to the Teutonic knights and had no doubt been a menace to the security of Safed itself. Probably it was during the Moslem supremacy over Safed that the Jews commenced to re-settle there, for in 1289 we read of one Moses ben Judah, Chief Rabbi in Safed, going to Tiberias to visit the tomb of Maimonides. The fact that he made this journey to pronounce a curse at the tomb on all those who condemned the writings of Maimonides suggests that even at this time Safed was a place of Jewish study and learning.

In the fifteenth century a Rabbi, Joseph Saragossi, probably one of the Sephardim, re-organized the community which had been growing in importance: indeed the Jewish population is said at this time to have reached 10,000. During the sixteenth century three great Jewish teachers flourished whose fame still sheds a lustre over the place. These were - (1) Joseph Caro, the writer of *Shulchan Aruch*, four little books on Jewish customs which were actually printed at the neighbouring village, Biria. He died in 1575 and was buried in Safed. (2) Isaac Loria, a contemporary whose chief study was the *Zohar*. He taught doctrines of metempsychosis which his pupils spread after his death, which occurred in 1572 or 1574. (3) Moses el-Sheikh, who published famous sermons on the Old Testament which have been widely quoted in the past by Christian writers.

The place became very attractive to the Jews. One, writing in 1607, says that in the community there were "great scholars, saints and men of action full of Divine Wisdom," and about the same time the place is said to have contained eighteen Talmudic colleges and twenty-one synagogues, and also a large school for the children of the poor, with 400 pupils and 20 teachers, maintained by wealthy Jews of Constantinople.

From this time the city appears to have declined, Jerusalem coming increasingly into prominence.

Plague visited the city in 1742, and in 1759-60 occurred the double earthquake described by Rabbi Joseph the Scribe (see *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1914, pp. 67-83). In that interesting account we get so full a picture of the sacred tombs of Safed and of the spirit of the pious pilgrims who visited them, that it is unnecessary to add more on the subject here. A contemporary account states that immediately after the earthquakes there were only seven Jewish families left in the city. In 1776 a number of Jewish families from Russia arrived. Plague again ravaged the place in 1812, and it is said that 80 per cent. of the people died. In 1833 the Jewish quarter was plundered by the Druzes, and on January 1st, 1837, came the great earthquake, so vividly described by Dr. Thomson in the "Land and the Book," when it is said 4000 Jews perished. Sir Moses Montefiore visited the place soon after the earthquake and contributed liberally to the re-building. Between 1837 and 1873 he made no less than seven visits.

References.—I would express my indebtedness to the Rev. B. Z. Friedmann of Safed and the Rev. O. Lukyn-Williams, late of Safed, for many facts. To the latter, by referring me to *Crusaders in the East*, by Prof. W. B. Stevenson, and to *Studies in Judaism*, Second series, 1908, by Prof. S. Schechter, I am indebted for most of the historical details.

CANA OF GALILEE.

By Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

SOON years ago I published a paper on this subject in the *Biblical World* (Chicago), but as this is but little read in England I propose to briefly recapitulate here the reasons which appear so convincing

to me for locating this site at *Khurbet Kana* and not, as most people do, at *Kefr Kenna*. This latter site has the support of modern ecclesiastical tradition, and as both the Greek and the Roman Catholic Churches have committed themselves to this view to the extent of each building monastic establishments at *Kefr Kenna*, I fear it will be very difficult to convince the authorities of these churches. The English guide-books lend themselves also to the support of this site and I suppose at least 90 per cent. of tourists never imagine that another site has any claims at all. I shall be delighted if any one who has looked into this question on the spot, and supports the *Kefr Kenna* site, would undertake to answer the following points:—

1. *The Name.*—*Kana* (كَانَة) clearly represents the Hebrew קָנָה Kanah—the Hebrew *Koph* corresponding with the Arabic hard *Kaf* (ك)—and the Greek *Kara* is but a transliteration of this. *Kenna* on the other hand is written كَنَّة with the soft *Kaf* كَ which corresponds to the Hebrew קָפָה *Kaph*. The difference, as all who have studied Semitic languages know, is great. The doubling of the middle letter in *Kenna* also makes the word much more unlike *Cana* than *Kana*.

2. *Position.*—To the modern tourist the fact that *Kefr Kenna* is on the high road from Tiberias to Nazareth seems to make it fit in with Our Lord's itinerary (cf. John iv, 46), but it must be remembered that the course of the modern high road is not a natural one and is due to the needs of modern pilgrims and travellers. Nazareth, then a small village, is now one of the chief centres of traffic in the district. On the other hand *Khurbet Kana* appears to-day to be entirely off any important route. It lies on the top of a low hill on the northern side of the plain of the *Battanij*. To reach it the traveller turns off the carriage road near *Meshhed*, passes through that village and strikes almost due north; passes *Rummeh* on the southern side of the *Battanij*, leaving *Khurbet Rummeh* (the Roma of the Talmud) on his left and crosses the *Sahel el-Battanij* by a pathway which brings him to the foot of the *Kana* hill. The following is my account of the ruin written at the time:—“The remains lie on a rounded hill isolated on all sides, though connected by a low neck with the mountains to the north. The site is an important one, easily defended in olden days, as its sides are everywhere steep and the hills around at a considerable distance. On the southern slopes of this hill some half-way up—perhaps two hundred feet above the

plain—are the ruined walls of some fifty or sixty Arab houses, some of which have recently been utilized as cattle pens. Even here are some half-hidden cisterns and traces of an important road. The remains, however, of real antiquity lie at a higher level, a point of which several writers appear to be unaware. Excavated in the strata of softer limestone running some yards below the summit platform are a number of rock-cut cave-tombs; I visited as many as six in a few minutes. The roughly-level hill-top is pierced in all directions with ancient cisterns. I saw over a dozen and many more have their mouths hidden by earth and brushwood. There are extensive wall-foundations in all directions and several large holes where vaults have fallen in. The whole surface is covered with small fragments of Roman pottery. There can be no question that this site was occupied by a very considerable population in Roman, and probably too in earlier, times. The site and the remains reminded me much of *el-Tell*—the site of Bethsaida—in the *Baṭṭīhah*. It is certainly one of the strongest natural sites in the neighbourhood. From the base of this steep hill the great plain of *el-Baṭṭānīf* stretches out east and south and west. From its summit the inhabitants of the town must have viewed all that happened on the whole plain. Its height would save the inhabitants from the greatest dangers to health from the marsh below them." The position of this place makes it probable that it was the Cana in Galilee where Herod the Great had his headquarters (Josephus, *Wars*, I, 17, § 5, *cf.* § 3). Josephus too lived here, for he says (*Life*, § 17): "Now at this time my abode was in a village of Galilee which is named Cana," and (in *Life*, § 41) he states that he lived in "the great plain, the name of which was Asochis"—this has always been considered to have been *el-Baṭṭānīf*. Some who concede that this may be the Cana of Josephus are still inclined to place a second "Cana of Galilee" at *Kafr Kanna*, six miles off. This seems to be, to say the least, improbable.

But there is a more striking thing about this *Kānīf*, and that is that it lay in the centre of the most thoroughly Jewish population of Galilee, as we see by the account of the campaign of Josephus, and we can see by various indications that it was on a high road which was in a special degree Jewish. This can be traced to-day from Capernaum through Gennesaret, up the *Wady Hamān*, past the Jewish city Arbela (now *Ilibid* with its ancient ruined synagogue), past *Hattin*, the Caphar Hattin of the Talmud, and through the town

of which the old name is lost whose ruins, including a fine synagogue, are called *Umm el-Tmed*. Thence it runs along the northern edge of the *Battāuf*, past *Kānā* and up the *Wādi Jāsāt* to Jolapātā and Cabul (the Cabolo of Josephus) or from *Kānā* past *Kefr Menda* through Asochis to Sepphoris or to Ptolemais. This road is actually mentioned in Josephus (*Life*, § 71), who says that Sylla, the commander of the Roman troops, "pitched his camp at five furlongs distance from Julias" (i.e., Bethsāida), and he "set a guard upon the roads, both that which led to Cana and that which led to the fortress Gamala." All the indications point to this as a characteristically *Jewish* road, as contrasted with the great Roman highway from Sepphoris to Tiberias. We have therefore a special reason for Our Lord's going by way of Cana. He instructed His disciples: "Go not into any way of the Gentiles" (Matt. x, 5), and what He taught by precept He must have taught by example. His mission was entirely to Jewish centres. He never seems to have visited Roman Sepphoris—the capital of the province—or pagan and defiled Tiberias.

Galilee had a very mixed population, but from the account of the rebellion it is evident that here—around Cana—was the centre of Jewish life. It seems, therefore, the most probable that about here should have been the ministry of Him who said: "I am not come but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

But if this conclusion is correct, students of the New Testament must revise their ideas of the route of several of Our Lord's journeys.

3. *Tradition*.—It is a strange thing that although those who lay much stress on tradition probably believe that this is their strongest argument in support of *Kefr Kenna*, yet, as a matter of fact, none of the records of the earlier pilgrims unequivocably support the *Kefr Kenna* site, while several of the most important seem to me to clearly point to *Khurbat Kānā*. Thus Saewulf (1102-3) says:—

"From Nazareth, Chana of Galilee—where Our Lord changed the water into wine at the marriage—is distant about six miles to the north, situated on a hill. There is nothing left there except the monastery which is called Architriolini ('The house of the ruler of the feast'). Between Nazareth and Chana of Galilee, about half-way, is a village which is called *Roma* where all pilgrims going from Accaron to Tiberias are entertained, having Nazareth on the right and Galilee (? 'Cana of Galilee') on the left."

Any one consulting the map will, I think, see that this account cannot possibly apply to any place but *Khurbet Kana*. The position of Roma, now *Khurbet Rūmeh*, is conclusive.

The German monk Burkhard (about 1280) is even more clear:—

“In the second division of the eastern quarter, starting from Acre to the south-east, four leagues from Acre, one comes to Cana of Galilee, where the Lord turned water into wine. To the north Cana of Galilee has a tall mountain on whose slope it stands. At its foot on the south side it has a very fair plain which Josephus calls Carmelion; it reaches as far as Sephora and is exceeding fertile and pleasant. About two leagues to the south of Cana of Galilee on the road from Sephora to Tiberias is a village named Rūma, wherein the prophet Jonah is said to have been buried. This village stands beneath the mountain which comes from Nazareth and bounds the aforesaid valley of Carmelion on the south.” The map again will show that this description clearly points to *Khurbet Kana*. Forty years later Marino Sanuto gives the same account almost in Burkhard’s words. There is not a single early pilgrim who gives the name Kenna.

How did the tradition change? It, like many such changes, was due largely to the monk Quaresmius who in the beginning of the seventeenth century came to re-investigate these traditional sites, as many of them had been lost through the break in the succession of pilgrims to this district, on account of the dangerous state of the land. He knew of both sites but apparently gave his vote in favour of *Kefr Kenna*—with some misgivings—because it was more accessible from Nazareth and because he found there extensive remains of a monastery, which, as we gather from earlier writers, was really not connected with any events in the Gospel but was to the honour of Jonah. I think—as he is practically the one and only authority before quite modern times—I cannot do better than quote the actual words of Quaresmius:—

“Posterior haec sententia mihi vali probabilis videtur (licet alteram rejecere non audeam) quoniam proximior Nazareth at quia potest adinveniri memoriae ecclesiae constructae in loco miraculi.”

THE TOWN OF HAIFA.

By ARCHDEACON DOWLING.

I. *Geographical Notes.*

HAIFA is spelt in a variety of ways: *e.g.*, Haifa, Hephah, Caifa, Caiffa, Kaifa, Khaifa. Khaifa is the most correct if it is derived, as some suppose, from the root *Khafah*, "to cover, or shelter," signifying a sheltered place.¹ The Crusaders had curious ideas of the derivation of the name Haifa. Some thought it was built by Caiaphas, the Sadducean high priest, St. Luke iii. 2, and named from him. Others supposed a connection with the name Cephas (*Kηφᾶς*), Gal. i. 18, and referred either to the stoniness of the site, or to Simon Peter, who, according to one account, fished there. Baurat Dr. G. Schumacher, C.E., a resident in the German colony at Haifa, is of opinion that the ancient (*a*) Sycaminon, (*b*) Hephah, and (*c*) Porphyrypolis, correspond to the present town of Haifa:—

(*a*) Sycaminon lies on the west. Josephus, *Ant.*, XIII, 12, 3, refers to Ptolemy Lathyrus, 117-107 B.C., proceeding on his journey from Cyprus, and coming to the country called Sycamine, and there settling his army on the shore. This army consisted of almost 30,000 men, with which he marched to Ptolemais, where he pitched his camp. Sycaminon was fifteen Roman miles from Ptolemais, and twenty-six Roman miles from Caesarea. The derivation of Sycaminon is supposed to be from the sycamine trees, which were found in this district (of which one very large old specimen exists within the ruins of old Haifa, near the French Sisters' Convent). The site of the ancient Sycaminon has always been placed at Haifa el-Atikah, or old Haifa, which lies on the eastern side of the spit of land projecting north of Carmel.

¹ In Judges v, 17, the R.V. reads: "Asher sat still at the haven of the sea," or "shore," as in the margin. This *shore* is supposed by some to refer in the Hebrew to Haifa. Thus, the passage would read: "Asher settled down at Khaifa on the sea."

Haifa is the Sycaminon of Greek and Roman writers. This is expressly affirmed by both St. Jerome and Eusebius, who lived in Palestine, the latter at Caesarea. On several occasions the town is spoken of in the Talmudic writings under the name of Haifa and Sycaminon, and according to the *Itineraria* of Antoninus Martyr, c. A.D. 600, Sycamnum was "under Mount Carmel." De Sauley, *Numismatique de la Palestine*, pp. 151-2, can scarcely be correct in attributing any Roman coinage to "Hadrian ou Antonin," under the heading of Sycaminon. Tell es Samak is a conspicuous mound, overhanging the sea, and covering the ruins of the old town of Sycaminon. Its name signifies the "Fish-Mound," on account of the myriads of shells which lie in profusion around its base. The *Murex brandaris* and *Murex trunculus* are still found, from which the Phoenicians obtained their far-famed Tyrian purple.

The Palestine Exploration Fund undertook excavation work at Tell es-Samak in 1887, but their operations were stopped. In the *Quarterly Statement* of the P.E.F., April, 1895, Dr. Schumacher mentions the finding on the eastern slope of Tell es-Samak, a tomb closed with a marble door, having a cross engraved on its front. Several marble fragments were excavated during that year, giving a proof of some wealth.

(b) Hepha, on the present site of Haifa. The Greeks described Haifa as Ἡφά, instead of Συκάδ. The fact, that in the Talmud the names Sycaminon and Hepha both occur, indicates that they were distinct places. In Crusading times they are found again distinct, Haifa under the name of Cayphas, hence the modern Frankish Caiffa, and also Porphyreon, Sycaminon, and Sycamazon.

(c) Porphyropolis lies on the east. There is much confusion about this site. William of Tyre, A.D. 1182-1185, asserts that Duke Godfrey de Bouillon awarded to Tancred the city of Tiberias, and the sea-town of Kaypha, which is otherwise called Porphyria. The site of one Roman city of Porphyria was at the Khan Neby Yūnus, at present a ruin, eight miles north of Sidon, and at least seventy miles from Haifa. It is supposed therefore that there were two places of this name. The late Mr. E. H. Palmer, in *The Desert of the Exodus*, Vol. II, Appendix, gives a list of the bishoprics under the Metropolitans of Caesarea, which includes (1) Dora, (2) Antipatris, (3) Porphyropolis. As this last-mentioned city was in Palestina Prima, it must have belonged to the district of Haifa.

II. *Historical Notes.*

A.D. 58, before Pentecost—St. Paul's third Apostolic Journey. St. Paul was able to remain seven days in the society of the Tyrian Christians, Acts xxi, 4, when the vessel was unloading her cargo. He then arrived at Ptolemais, the present Acre (v. 7). Here the sea voyage came to an end. The R.V. of the New Testament has the following reading: “When we had finished the voyage from Tyre, we arrived at Ptolemais”; *i.e.*, having ended our voyage, viz., the *whole voyage* from Neapolis to Syria. With the landing at Ptolemais this voyage ended. The rest of the journey would be *through Haifa*, if made by land. On this third journey of St. Paul, in the spring, St. Luke was again in his company, Acts xx, 5, 6, having joined it apparently at Philippi, where he had been left. With the Apostle, this Evangelist and physician passed through Miletus, Tyre, probably Khaifa, Caesarea, to Jerusalem, Acts xxi, 16-18.¹

A.D. 333.—On his journey from Ptolemais the Pilgrim of Bordeaux found Calamon, twelve Roman miles to the south.

Note.—Kalamon is mentioned by Isaac Chelo, A.D. 1334, as an important ruin near the sea, between Sycaminos and Caesarea. The French army, in returning from Acre, 1799, passed through a place of the same name.

A.D. 570.—The *Itinerary of Antoninus Martyr*, the pilgrim of Piacenza, furnishes interesting details regarding Sycaminos.

A.D. 1017.—About half a century before the First Crusade, the Persian traveller Nāsr-i-Khusrau wrote in his diary:—“Leaving Acre, we went into a village called Haifa, the sand here being of the kind that the goldsmiths of Persia make use of in their business, which is known under the name of ‘Makkah sand’ There are in this town shipbuilders, who build very large craft, called Jūdī.”²

A.D. 1099.—During the First Crusade, under Raymond I of Tripoli, the line of march led the pilgrims close to the walls of Acre and Haifa. Godfrey de Bouillon gave Tancred the principality of Galilee, from Tiberias to Haifa. Tancred gained possession of

¹ See Conybeare and Howson's *The Life, Times, and Travels of St. Paul*, American edition, 1869, Vol. II, p. 232, note 6; and Farrar's *The Life and Work of St. Paul*, popular edition, 1885, p. 519. It is possible that he went by sea to Caesarea.

² Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 446.

Haifa after a siege of fifteen days, with the combined help of the army by land and the Venetian fleet by sea (*New Guide to the Holy Land*, pp. 366-7). Stevenson (*The Crusaders in the East*) records how Tancred besieged Haifa, and took it by storm on August 9th, and at his suggestion the Venetian fleet sailed from Acre for Haifa. Within a month this town was captured, after a vigorous attack, in which the besiegers employed seven mangonels and a large movable tower. On the day of the capture the garrison and the inhabitants were invited to gather round a cross, as a place of safety, and were then pitilessly massacred without regard to age or sex. The Venetians resigned their share of the spoil to the Syrian Latins, and sailed home without further delay, in order to escape the storms of winter. Tancred was appointed lord of Tiberias, with the principedom of all Galilee and of the maritime city of Kaifa, which he administered with singular prudence. Kaifa had been granted by the Khalif of Bagdad to the Jews, on payment of an annual tribute. Their defence of the city against the Christians, and the disputes of these latter, is given by Albert of Aix, Lib. VII, Chap. XXII-XXVI, p. 300, etc.

A.D. 1102.—The first pilgrim who followed the Crusaders, and who has left a personal narrative, is the Anglo-Saxon Saewulf, a merchant, who, according to William of Malmesbury, became a monk in the abbey of Malmesbury. During his travels in Palestine he states:—“From Caesarea we came to Cayphas (Kaifa), and from Cayphas to Accaron” (Acre).

A.D. 1106-7.—The earliest extant record of a Russian pilgrimage to the Holy Land is that of Daniel, the abbot or prior (*Историк*) of a Russian monastery. His journal is one of the earliest documents in the old Slavonic language. After resting four days at Acre, he journeyed southwards through Haifa and Caesarea to Nâblus. On his homeward journey he re-visited Haifa for Beirut, and eventually reached Constantinople in safety.

A.D. 1163.—In the Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, the son of Jonah, of Blessed Memory, of Tudela, in the kingdom of Navarre, reference is made to “Kaifia, which is Gath-Hahopher. One side of this city is situated on the coast, on the other side it is overlooked by Mount Carmel.”¹

¹ Gath-Hepher, Joshua xix, 13 (R.V.). Modern writers identify Kaifia with the ancient 'H̄ph̄a, and not with Gath.

A.D. 1182-4.—William of Tyre (Archbishop), when referring to Haifa, calls it “*Porphyria Novissima*.”

A.D. 1187.—After the surrender of Acre on July 12th, all the smaller towns on the coast south of Acre, including Haifa, fell into the hands of Salah ed-din Yusuf.

A.D. 1191.—When Acre fell into the hands of France, Saladin ordered Haifa to be dismantled and laid waste, so as to leave nothing but a heap of ruins to the Crusaders, who re-built it.

A.D. 1191.—On August 23rd, Richard Coeur de Lion, with his vast army, after having beheaded 2,500 Muslims, left Acre, travelling along the shore towards Haifa (Queen Berengaria of Navarre and her ladies being left behind). Close to the river Belus, the Saracens unexpectedly swooped down from the hills, and drove the Crusaders to the edge of the sea. Richard having beaten them off, the Crusaders pitched their camp in an unhealthy spot by the brook Kishon, east of the town of Haifa, when another host came to harass the weary Christians. While camping in this date-grove Richard caught a severe fever, which gave rise to reports of his death, and resulted in his remaining at Haifa for four weeks, to recover his health. Close to the mouth of the Kishon, where Richard rested among the palm-trees, there was a Crusading town called *Palmaraea*. The ruins exist, but are partly covered with sand. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. LIX, states that the “march of one hundred miles from Acre to Ascalon was a great and perpetual battle of eleven days.”

C. A.D. 1220.—Jacques de Vitry, a French priest, who became the first (Latin) Archbishop of Acre, speaks of Haifa as “*Porphyria Novissima*.”

A.D. 1230.—Laurence Oliphant, *Haifa*, p. 30, mentions among the records of this year that King Amalrich II (or Aumary) of Jerusalem, in the midst of the unhealthy plain of Kishon, died of a surfeit of sea-fish, for which this spot is celebrated. (Dr. Schumacher informs me that a small poisonous fish, with dark spots, called *burukli*, is brought into the Haifa market from the Kishon district.)

C. A.D. 1250.—During the Sixth Crusade, Louis IX (St. Louis, King of France) repaired the fortifications of Haifa.

A.D. 1265.—March.—The Mamluk Sultan Rukn ed-din Baibars destroyed the town and citadel of Haifa, which seems to have been deserted.

C. A.D. 1761.—The fall of Acre in 1291 sealed the fate of the Latins, without exception. After their departure from Galilee, Haifa lingered on until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the noted Sheikh Dhâhar el-'Omar, from the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee, by a sudden march got possession of Acre, which he fortified. He then completely destroyed Haifa, but, however, according to F. Barnabas Meistermann, "soon rebuilt it on a new site, at the end of the bay, and twenty minutes' walk to the south-east of the former city. He placed a wall around it, and built a fortress on a rocky eminence overlooking the town on the south." The mosque and serai (or court-house) and the round wall of Haifa with two gates, were built by the sons of the Beduin Dhâhar el-'Omar, who was virtually king of Galilee.

A.D. 1831.—Ibrâhîm Pasha, an adopted son of Mehemet Ali, viceroy of Egypt, crossed the Egyptian frontier with an army, and appeared suddenly on the Syrian coast. He took Khaiffa by surprise, and on November 29th invested Acre.

A.D. 1832.—On October 20th, the French poet Alphonse de Lamartine visited "Caiaphas."

A.D. 1840.—The town of Haifa, and the fort in particular, were much damaged by the bombardment of the united fleets of Great Britain and Austria, and the forces of Mohammed Ali. After the withdrawal of the Egyptian army, the town was left without Turkish soldiery, until the first garrison arrived about 1903.

A.D. 1869.—The colony of the German Templars, mostly from the Black Forest, was established in the north-west of the town, under the shadow of the Carmel range. Their influence is evident in the straightness and cleanliness of the wide streets; the regularity of the stone houses, built in European style, surrounded by their well-kept little gardens of delicious freshness, are a startling contrast to what is noticeable elsewhere in Galilee.

A.D. 1873.—The late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt-Drake, F.R.G.S., was informed by one of the principal Haifa Christians that he once was digging for ready-dressed building stone, when he found a small brass jar, containing 1,000 gold pieces. The coins were probably early Byzantine specimens.

A.D. 1874.—Forty years ago the great plain of Acre, north of Haifa, between the two rivers Nahr el-Mulkatta, "the water-course" (the brook Kishon of 1 Kings xviii, 40), and Nahr Namein, was

grown with cotton. They were unable to compete with the development of the cotton-fields in the United States of America, and the lack of modern appliances with new methods of cultivation rendered it unprofitable to continue its cultivation.

Mr. MacGregor, "Rob Roy," asserted that crocodiles exist in the Kishon. According to native evidence, however, the Zerka is the only Palestinian river where crocodiles are *now* found. In 1877, the late Herr Jacob Schumacher, when preparing plans for a mill on the Zerka river, was present when a crocodile, nine feet long, was killed by his German assistants and natives. The skin was brought to Haifa. In 1893, Mr. Alexander Howard, of Jaffa, presented the Palestine Exploration Fund with a stuffed crocodile skin, about eight or nine feet in length, killed in the Zerka.

A.D. 1877.—During February, Lieut. Kitchener, R.E., was employed at Haifa on the Palestine Exploration Fund Survey of Galilee. He erected a sun-dial in the yard of Dr. Schumacher's residence at the German Colony, from which the Germans take *their* mid-day time standard.

A.D. 1884.—General Gordon's "Last Visit to Haifa" is recorded in Laurence Oliphant's *Haifa, or Life in Modern Palestine*, pp. 274-280. (As the author supplies no dates, it may happen that the year 1884 is slightly incorrect.)

A.D. 1886.—A Government carriage road was commenced from Haifa to Tiberias towards Jenîn.

A.D. 1886.—The late Mr. Laurence Oliphant's grave is contained in the well cared for Haifa German Colony cemetery, near the German Colony.

A.D. 1892.—The ceremony of turning the first sod of the proposed Syrian-Ottoman Railway, connecting the port of Haifa with Damascus, took place on December 19th, at the east end of the town, near Wady Rishmea. About 5,000 of the inhabitants of Haifa assembled on this occasion.¹

A.D. 1898.—During the autumn, preparations were made by the Turkish authorities for the visit of the German Emperor and Empress to Haifa. A pier was built on the sea-shore for their

¹ It may be added that in 1893, on June 29th, Mr. George Jeffery, Architect of the Haifa English Hospital, gave a satisfactory report of the new Anglican Mission House.

landing at the German Colony, about half a mile west of the town. The road from Haifa to Jaffa was made, so that carriages might safely pass; and the bridges were repaired.

A.D. 1899.—The Anglican Church of St. Luke, Haifa, was consecrated by the Bishop in Jerusalem on St. Luke's Day, October 18th.

A.D. 1900.—At the landing-stage in the German Colony, Haifa, a riot occurred. The spot is convenient for bathing. Certain hours are appointed for females. As it happened that young men from the town assembled there at this time, the Governor of Haifa stationed a sentinel there to send them off. Instead of obeying, they beat the soldier. The mob followed and broke the windows of the German Hotel, on seeing which the Germans came out well-armed, and the mob fled. Soldiers were telegraphed for from Acre, who made many prisoners.

A.D. 1905, Oct. 15.—The Turkish Government opened the Damascus-Haifa Railway, 289 kilometres long, a branch of the great Hamidieh-Hejaz Railway.

A.D. 1912.—A commencement was made with the building of the Jewish Technical Institute.

A.D. 1912.—The Syrian Exploration Company, Ltd., was started in Haifa with English capital.

A.D. 1913.—On April 11th, actual borings for petroleum were commenced by the Syrian Exploration Company in the Yarmuk Valley. A Turkish railway connection between Haifa and Acre was also opened, and another branch of the Hejaz Railway to Jerusalem from Haifa, via Afuleh, is now under construction, passing through Jenîn and Nablûs.

Appendix.—The principal Sephardim synagogue in Haifa was built in 1854. There are altogether five Sephardim synagogues. The most important are the Elijah and the synagogue of the Constantinople Jews. The Sephardim Jews in Haifa number 1,500 souls. The small Ashkenazim synagogue was built by a Jew from Russia: belonging to this sect there are 700 souls. The Jewish population in Haifa increases in number. After the Technical Schools are opened, immigration will become yet more noticeable.

PALESTINIAN NUMISMATICS.

CATALOGUE OF THE GREEK COINS OF PALESTINE (*Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea*) by George Francis Hill, M.A., Keeper of Coins and Medals. With one Map, a Table of the Hebrew Alphabet and forty-two Plates. (London: Sold at the British Museum, and by [various publishers]), 1914.

Apart from the fact that it is confined to a particular collection, Mr. Hill's *Catalogue* differs from De Saulcy's epoch making *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte* by way both of exclusion and of inclusion. As stated on the title-page, Mr. Hill confines himself almost exclusively¹ to the coins of Western Palestine. Thus, of the important cities of the Decapolis included by De Saulcy, Seythopolis alone is here dealt with. On the other hand, the coins of the Jews, both under their native dynasties and under the Roman administration, to which De Saulcy and Madden have devoted special treatises, form not the least valuable part of Mr. Hill's *Catalogue*.

Although nominally only a catalogue of the coins of Palestine in Mr. Hill's keeping in the British Museum, the work is practically a *corpus* of the numismatics of Palestine from the second or third century before, to the middle of the third century after, the Christian era, that is, "to the close of the imperial coinage in this district under Gallus and Volusianus." This is due to the fact that the recent acquisition by the British Museum of the rich cabinet of the late Mr. Leopold Hamburger of Frankfort, has "placed the British Museum collection, in numbers, and probably also in quality, at the head of all others in respect of Jewish coins." This greater abundance of material, on which wide and exact scholarship and expert numismatic knowledge have been brought to bear, has enabled Mr. Hill to correct many false readings and erroneous attributions of less favoured and less accomplished predecessors in this branch of numismatics.

In a short notice such as the present, it is impossible to do justice to the wealth of material here provided for the study, not merely of

¹ The one exception is the coinage of Herod Philip.

the numismatic history of Western Palestine, but of the wider problems of its secular and religious history in the period above indicated. All that can be attempted is to give the student of the history and religion of Palestine a general idea of the contents of the volume, and to call attention to one or two points on which the last word has not yet been said.

The arrangement of the British Museum catalogues is probably familiar to all who are likely to read this notice. It will therefore be sufficient to note that, as in Mr. Hill's previous catalogue of the coins of the cities of Phoenicia, the arrangement is geographical and alphabetical, until we reach the special section dealing with the coins of the Jews. Thus the three main divisions of Western Palestine, Galilee, Samaria, and Judea, are taken in succession, the mints in each being arranged alphabetically, and their several issues treated in chronological order. For the Jewish coinage, of course, chronological considerations alone come into play, the coins of the Hasmonean dynasty, the Herodian dynasty, and the Roman Procurators being followed by those of the First and Second Revolts. The catalogue proper (pp. 1-316) is preceded by 114 pages of Introduction, in which the more interesting or more difficult problems are discussed, and is followed by the usual series of indexes—types, symbols, remarkable inscriptions, eras, etc.—which are of the greatest value to historical and other students.

Coming now to the contents of the "Introduction," we find, first of all, a short discussion of the coinage of the two Galilean mints, Sepphoris and Tiberias. The latter city may be taken as an illustration of the light thrown by the study of numismatics on historical problems. The special problem in this case is the date of the foundation of Tiberias by Herod Antipas. Schürer, our standard authority in such matters, regards it as probable that the city was founded "after or about A.D. 26," and this date is generally accepted by historians, on the (apparent) authority of Josephus. But the numismatic evidence, as here adduced, shows that the real date must lie between A.D. 17 and 23. Mr. Hill suggests as "a working hypothesis" the date A.D. 19-20.

His main considerations in arriving at this date seem to be two in number: (1) The imperial coinage of Tiberias begins under Trajan in the year 81 of the city; since A.D. 99-100 is the most probable date of the death of Agrippa II, when the imperial coinage would naturally begin, Mr. Hill deduces the year A.D. 19-20 as the

first year of the city. But there is considerable doubt as to whether Agrippa retained the city of Tiberias up to his death (see Schürer, *Geschichte d. jüd. Volkes*, 4th ed., ii, 220).

(2) The coins of Hadrian begin with the year 101 of the city, which Mr. Hill equates with "about 119-20, probably on the occasion of Hadrian's first visit to Palestine." I do not know what authority Mr. Hill is following in assuming that Hadrian was in Palestine in this year, or in either of these years.¹ But he appears to have paid a hurried visit to Palestine from Syria soon after his accession in A.D. 117 (Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 16), in which case the first year of Tiberias would be A.D. 17-18. This, the earliest possible date, as we have seen, allowed by the numismatic evidence, is that favoured by Dr. Walter Otto in his recent (1913) elaborate monograph *Herodes* (col. 182).

Among the cities of Samaria, one is struck with the importance, in the early centuries of our era, of Caesarea and Neapolis (Nâbulus), as reflected by the long series of imperial and colonial coins extending to the reign of Volusianus.² To the numismatic history of the former city Mr. Hill is able to add two unpublished coins (Nos. 34, 35) struck by Vespasian, after the outbreak of the war in A.D. 66, in his quality of *legatus* of the new independent province of Judaea, later Syria Palaestina. Of the great variety of types presented by the coins of the two cities named much might be said. The most interesting, of course, is the well-known type of Mount Gerizim with its temple and stairway, which first appears on the reverse of the Neapolis coins of Antoninus Pius and continues to the end. Mr. Hill's careful description is worth quoting; it runs thus: "Mount Gerizim, consisting of two masses, separated by a ravine up which leads a sloping roadway. The mass on left (A) has a steep stairway leading up past shrines in the rock-face to top, where is a temple seen in three-quarters perspective, and behind it another building or altar. The mass on right (B) has a branch from the roadway leading over a shoulder to top where is an altar.

¹ Has Mr. Hill inadvertently fixed on this date on the strength of the coin commemorating a visit of Hadrian to Judaea (Madden, p. 231), with the legend HADRIANUS AUG. COS. III, P. P.? Certainly Hadrian was consul for the third (and last) time in A.D. 119, but this year was spent in Italy, and the coin in question must commemorate the later visit in A.D. 130.

² The statement, p. xvii, that the coinage of Caesarea "extends to the reign of Gallienus" is probably a slip (see p. xxi, note 1).

Below, in front, a long colonnade, interrupted at entrance to stairway, showing arches over two wider intercolumniations" (p. 48).

This temple, according to Mr. Hill, "is doubtless the temple of Zeus Hypsistos built by Hadrian" (p. xxviii). The authority for this is Damascius, but it seems at least equally probable that Hadrian's temple was dedicated to Sarapis. The Samaritan Chronicle, as Mr. Hill informs us in a footnote, calls it a temple of "Saphis," which, he adds, "may be meant for Jupiter Sospes." But surely Serapis (or Sarapis) is much more likely to have been the original reading. M. Clermont-Ganneau, a high authority, certainly holds that "the object of the cult established by Hadrian on Gerizim was Serapis" (see Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 92, n. 36).

The catalogue of the coins of Judaea begins with those of the Roman colony of Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem), which form an almost continuous series from Hadrian to Valerian. The most interesting types here are those connected with the legions quartered in Jerusalem, and that of the City Goddess, probably Astarte, in her temple—"presumably the temple on the site of which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was afterwards built" (p. xliv).¹ The popularity of the worship of Serapis at this period is also attested by coins of Aelia, as by those of Caesarea, Neapolis and other cities.

Some of Mr. Hill's best work will be found in his treatment of the coins and cults of the old Philistine cities, especially those of Ascalon and Gaza—treated more fully in his paper on "Some Palestinian Cults in the Graeco-Roman Age" in the *Proceedings of the Brit. Acad.*, Vol. V, 1912—to which I can only refer in passing. A brief reference, however, must be made to certain coins, "the provenance of which indicates that they circulated in north-western Arabia, on the borders of Philistia and Egypt." These Mr. Hill has wisely separated from Gaza and assigned to an independent "Philisto-Arabian and Egypto-Arabian series." They probably belong to the petty rulers or tribal sheikhs, who lived by levying toll on the rich caravans that passed through their territory, from southern Arabia and Egypt respectively, to the great emporium at Gaza. Quite the most noteworthy of these small coins is a unique silver piece, which has already been the subject of a considerable literature from the fact

¹ The reference given is Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche u. Apostelkirche*, i, p. 197 ff.

that the deity, which forms the type of its reverse, is distinctly named יְהוָה (Yahu, now so familiar to us from the Elephantine papyri as an alternative spelling of the Hebrew Yahweh). Here, again, Mr. Hill's description may be quoted: "Male divinity (Yahu), bearded, wearing himation leaving upper part of body bare, seated right on a winged wheel; his right is wrapped in his garment; on extended left he holds a hawk; above יְהוָה [in Phoenician characters]; in field right, bald-headed bearded mask [facing] left." The reader must be referred to Mr. Hill's study of this coin, p. lxxxvi ff., where full references are given to previous discussions by various scholars.

We come now to what many will regard as the most important part of Mr. Hill's work, his discussion—all too brief—of the coins of the Jews (pp. lxxxix–cvi) with the relative catalogue on pp. 184–316. It is true "that any attempt to deal with [the subject] in detail would require a second volume equal in size to Madden's *Coins of the Jews*"; but now that he has finished his official catalogue, is it too much to ask that Mr. Hill should, without delay, give us the detailed treatment of which the Jewish coinage stands so much in need? Much water has flowed beneath the bridge since Madden's great work appeared in 1881.

Under the rubric, "Maccabaean Period" (p. xc), Mr. Hill introduces us at once to the most crucial problem of Jewish numismatics, that of the date and attribution of the so-called "Maccabaean shekels," or, as they are here more wisely termed, the "thick" shekels, a nomenclature which does not beg the question of date, and distinguishes them from the thinner and broader shekels of the Second Revolt. Nothing in Mr. Hill's volume, I may be allowed to say, has given me greater satisfaction than his attribution of the shekels in question to the only period to which in my opinion, they can belong,¹ viz., the period of the First Revolt, A.D. 66–70. After successfully replying to Reinach's arguments, in his *Jewish Coins* (p. 12 f.), in support of the usual attribution to Simon Maccabaeus, Mr. Hill adds, "the most striking piece of evidence is afforded by the epigraphy." Here Mr. Hill has had the courage to follow a path which previous students, the present writer included, had regarded as a *cul de sac*. By a minute study of certain test characters of the "thick" shekels with the corresponding forms on the Maccabaean bronzes on the one hand, and on the coins of the

¹ See the article "Money," in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, III, 424 f., by the present writer.

Second Revolt on the other, he here shows that, from the point of view of the development of the Hebrew alphabet, the shekels in dispute must be placed between the coins of "Antigonus and those of the Second Revolt, but not at an earlier period" (see pp. xcii f.).

Since the publication of the *Catalogue*, however, there has appeared evidence of another kind with an immediate bearing on this problem. In the second instalment of an account of the excavation by the Assumptionist Fathers in Jerusalem of the traditional "House of Caiaphas and Church of St. Peter," the well-known scholar Père Germer-Durand gives a tantalizingly brief notice, in the *Revue Biblique* of April last (p. 234), of the find of a shekel and half-shekel, both of the "year 3" (reproduced *ibid.*) *with contemporary Roman coins*. It would be premature to pronounce a final judgment on the strength of so meagre a statement. There is little doubt, however, that when the learned Father gives us the fuller account, which he seems to promise and which is certainly due, the evidence will be such as to give a final *coup de grâce* to the fiction of the "Maccabaean" shekels.

Passing over the genuine coinage of Simon Maccabaeus—to whom "the epigraphic argument" allows a few "bronze $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, and $\frac{1}{8}$ (?) shekels of year 4" (p. xciii),—and his successors, and that of the older members of the Herodian dynasty, we come to perhaps the next most perplexing problem of Jewish numismatics, the eras of the coinage of Agrippa II. Here a somewhat fuller *résumé* of the history of this prince would have enabled the student to follow more intelligently the discussion of the problem. Mr. Hill, however, shows that all the difficulties may be met by the assumption of only two eras, beginning in A.D. 56 and 61 respectively. This involves the entirely probable hypothesis that the titulature of the contemporary emperors was not correctly observed in Agrippa's remote "corner of the Empire." The probable significance of Agrippa's later coins with the letters S. C. (*Sicutus Consilio*) has been already suggested in the discussion above as to the date of the founding of Tiberias.

Mr. Hill's brief reference in his Introduction to the coins of the Procurators (p. vi) contains the only serious slip I have detected in his book. "There seems," he says, "to be no evidence for the date 33 on coins of the earliest type which would enable us to assign coins to Coponius," the first of the Roman Procurators sent by Augustus on the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6. The first part

of Mr. Hill's statement is doubtless correct, as is also the following statement "that the thirty-sixth year of Augustus is the first in which coins were struck." But this year of the Actian era ran from September of the year 5 to September of the year 6, so that there is after all nothing impossible, or even improbable, in the supposition that Coponius arrived at Caesarea in the autumn of A.D. 6 and began to strike coins immediately on his arrival.¹

The last section of the *Catalogue* deals with the coins of the Second Revolt (A.D. 132-135). These Mr. Hill arranges in three main groups, consisting of tetradrachms (20), denarii (95), and bronzes (111), threading his way with great skill through the difficulties of classification within these groups. Two minor criticisms, however, may be offered. Mr. Hill explains the epithet *Nasi* after the name Simeon on certain coins of the first year as meaning "president of the Synedrion." This cannot be the correct explanation. The real synedrion, or supreme council of Jerusalem, came to an end in A.D. 70, and Mr. Hill no doubt means the council of Jewish doctors at Jamnia. But had the Simeon Bar-Kozeba² of the second revolt been the head of the Rabbinic college there, his name would have been preserved in Jewish tradition along with that of his supporter, Rabbi Aqiba. The Simeon of the revolt was doubtless a purely secular leader, who assumed, or had given him, the title of *Nasi*, Ezekiel's favourite term for the Messianic ruler of the new age.

My second criticism has reference to Mr. Hill's explanation, due to Mr. Rogers (*Num. Chron.*, 1911, 205 ff.)³ of the obverse type of the broad tetradrachms or shekels, as "the four pillars for the veil before the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle, with a conventionalized representation within of the ark and mercy seat" (p. cvi). I cannot see that this ingenious explanation is preferable to that most

¹ With regard to the Procuratorial coins in general, it is tempting to connect a certain number of the issues with the arrival of a new governor. Thus the second set of coins are dated A.D. 8-9, which suggests the arrival of Marcus Ambibulus (or Ambivius), the issue of A.D. 15-16 that of Valerius Gratus, and—most important of all, if my hypothesis could be established, as having a decisive bearing on the most crucial date in Pauline chronology—the issue, after a considerable pause, in the fifth year of Nero may be taken as coinciding with the arrival of Porcius Festus before October, A.D. 59.

² Mr. Hill seems unduly sceptical as to the identity of the Simeon of the coins with the leader of the movement, Bar-Kozeba, *alias* Bar-Cochba.

³ Mr. Rogers, however, there says he is following out a suggestion given him by Mr. Hill.

generally given, that we have here a representation of the Temple at Jerusalem, which Bar Cochba's followers hoped to restore.

The fluted columns, with their circular bases and capitals and the architrave which they support, seem to point unmistakably to a construction of stone, not of wood. And what, on the new hypothesis, is the structure underneath the pillars? Is it not intended, as in the similar coin of Caesarea (Plate III, 1), to represent the "podium [of the temple] divided into panels by pilasters" (p. 17). It will be said that the front of the Jewish temple had no such pillars. That is true, but we know from a glass bowl, found some years ago in the catacombs at Rome, and often reproduced (see *Ene. Bib.*, IV, col. 4934, Benzinger, *Archaeol.*, 218), that the Jews of the third century conceived of Solomon's temple as having a porch supported on just four such pillars, between which the entrance door of the Holy Place is seen half open, the leaves decorated by knobs as in the coin type. The only essential difference is that the door of the catacomb diagram is square while that of the coins has a round head.

In concluding this rapid survey of the *Catalogue*, I wish to thank the new Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals for a work which is not only the most reliable guide to the study of the numismatics of Palestine but an invaluable source-book, a true *Quelle*, for the history of the period with which it deals, and especially for the study of the great variety of cults which prevailed in the eastern half of the early empire. The types or symbols of the later coins, further, often cast an interesting sidelight on the contemporary temple architecture (see e.g., Plate XIV, 9, and p. lxi) as well as on the social and religious customs of the time (see e.g., Plate VII, 18, for cock-fighting at some festival at Neapolis).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

AN INSCRIBED JEWISH OSSUARY.

By the REV. DR. SPOER, Jerusalem.

IN the *Quarterly Statement* of April, 1913, p. 84, Prof. Lidzbarski has published a note upon my reading of an inscription upon an ossuary found in the grounds of Sir John Gray Hill upon the Mount of Olives, and published by me in the *Journal of The American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 358; the provenance of the object being withheld for the time at the request of the owner, for reasons which will be understood by all finders of archaeological remains in Palestine.

I did not reply to Prof. Lidzbarski at the time, as I had nothing to add to my previous statements. On my return to Jerusalem, however, I again examined the inscription very carefully, and took a new squeeze which corresponds exactly with that I have already published, except in regard to the third letter in the first word in which the bottom should be more angular and the two points a trifle longer. There is a faint line from the end of the left point to the right one at the joining of the horizontal line, as follows:—



The first letter of the second word is exactly as represented in my drawing. The connecting stroke is as deep and clear as any line in the entire inscription, and is about 3 millimetres wide, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres long. There can therefore be no possible doubt that the letter is a מ and the word מִרְתָּה = Mirrath.

This is the line of which he says: "On the photograph I can see very faintly a fine line, but it does not seem to belong to the writing."

A photograph is seldom a trustworthy basis for the reading of an incised inscription, and Prof. Lidzbarski admits that his is "not very clear."

Prof. Lidzbarski's reading of the first word בִּדְיוֹה is interesting although, after having again examined the original, I am more inclined to regard the first word as a bad attempt to write what appears clearly as the second.

The letters of the first word are much smaller than those of the second, the largest being about 3 centimetres high, while in the second we have 5 centimetres; the letters are also crowded together, occupying a space of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres, while the second word, having the same number of letters, occupies over 12 centimetres. The first and last letters in both words are unquestionably the same.

Note by Dr. Buchanan Gray.

The Editor has kindly allowed me to see Dr. Spoer's note. I have little to add to what I wrote in the January number of the *Quarterly Statement* (pp. 41-43). I there pointed out that the word in the larger characters can only be read מִרְתָּה; and a reference back to the drawing on p. 42 will confirm what Dr. Spoer says as to the difference in size of the letters of the two names. The faint line in the letter drawn by Dr. Spoer was not conspicuous in the squeezes submitted to me; its presence does not make the letter any more like י; and I remain of the opinion that the two words are probably the same—that in the smaller characters being ill cut.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Philistines, their History and Civilization. The Schweich Lectures, 1911. By Prof. R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A. (Oxford University Press, 1914. 3s. net.)

This is an expansion of a course of three lectures delivered under the Schweich Fund in 1911 before the British Academy. It provides in a convenient and very readable form all that is known

of the Philistines; it draws upon Biblical sources, upon monumental and archaeological evidence, and it furnishes the completest extant survey of this mysterious people. Written with all the author's charm of style, and enhanced with eleven excellent illustrations, the book is sure of a warm welcome among all who are interested in the subject. Prof. Macalister, it may be said at the outset, manifests a very decided predilection for the people whose name has somewhat unflattering suggestions for us, and one of the most interesting features of his book is his strenuous endeavour to show how much we owe to the Philistines, and how sadly they have been maligned. Certainly, one was not prepared to credit them with any notable achievements in the history of ancient civilization, and Prof. Macalister's warm and ingenious pleading on their behalf will repay careful study.

A few minute points may be noticed in passing. Although it is difficult, as he observes, to accept the view that the name Philistine means "stranger" or the like (p. 2 *seq.*), the analogy of the term "Welsh," usually regarded as derived from an old-English word meaning "foreign," would refute the suggestion that a people will not adopt such a term when applied to itself by others.

Very hazardous, though none the less ingenious, is the observation that the name of Samson's father Manoah resembles the name Minos (p. 46). But scarcely a page that has not some suggestion, indicative of wide reading and resourcefulness. Not a little novel is the view that Sisera was of Philistine kinship while, on the other hand, it will be rather surprising to some to find that Delilah and Goliath no longer retain the traditional nationality. It should, however, be borne in mind that these views do not depend upon the external monumental or archaeological evidence which, in truth, is very largely neutral or non-committal. They rest upon an internal criticism of all the data, and it is necessary to distinguish between unimpeachable and irrefragable data—archaeological and other—and the views, theories, and conclusions which arise in the effort to present a clear summary of the "facts." What the external evidence has to say is here carefully and completely put forth, and no one can read these pages without realizing how many important questions the new evidence raises. In particular, the chapter on the culture of the Philistines should be especially noticed, for whether or no we agree with Prof. Macalister in all his conclusions, there is no doubt that the Philistines are associated with a period of transition which

was of supreme importance for the history of ancient civilization. "The settlement of the Philistines in Palestine falls in that period of fog, as we may call it, when the iron culture succeeds the bronze in the Eastern Mediterranean. Recent excavations have given us a clear-cut picture of the development of civilization during the bronze age . . . Then a cloud seems to settle down on the world, through which we can dimly perceive scenes of turmoil, and the shifting of nations. When the mist rolls away it is as though a new world is before us. We see new powers on earth, new gods in heaven: new styles of architecture, new methods of warfare: the alphabet has been invented, and above all, iron has become the metal of which the chief implements are made. Crete and the great days of Egypt belong to the past; the glorious days of classical Greece are the goal before us. The chief interest of the Philistines lies in this, that their history falls almost entirely within this period of obscurity, when the iron age of Europe was in its birth-throes" (p. 114 *seq.*)

Archaeology of the Old Testament: Was the Old Testament written in Hebrew? By Edouard Naville, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A. (London: Scott, 1913, price 5s. net.)

Dr. Naville's book belongs to the "Library of Historic Theology," edited by the Rev. W. C. Piercy, and deals with questions of great interest for Biblical students. "The title of this book," the author candidly admits, "does not agree exactly at first sight with its contents, which turn entirely on the question of language, and in which I have attempted to show that the books of the Old Testament, as we know them, in their present Hebrew form, are not in the original language written by their authors. This question, which seems purely literary, is, however, archaeological in its origin . . ." The learned writer proceeds to refer to the Amarna letters (written in Assyrian) and to the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, and ultimately ventures the very revolutionary view that the Old Testament was not written in Hebrew. The subject is of sufficient importance to merit an exhaustive enquiry, and Dr. Naville's arguments deserve careful attention. Although the use of cuneiform (Assyrian) in Palestine is thoroughly vouched for, and may have continued to a relatively late period, the Amarna letters themselves show that a "Canaanite," or early form of Hebrew language, prevailed in the fourteenth century B.C., the Moabite

inscription proves the use of the old "Canaanite" script and of a dialect closely akin to Hebrew, in the ninth century, and Dr. Naville is required, not to prove the *likelihood* that the Old Testament was written in cuneiform, but to produce evidence which demands that conclusion. Consequently the repeated assumption that everything points to the use of cuneiform in the composition of the sacred writings is not very impressive, and soon becomes jejune (*e.g.*, p. 204). One looks for facts and for evidence which would refute the ordinary accepted view.

Dr. Naville is rather vague on the introduction of the Hebrew and the later "square Hebrew" script, and when he says: "most Semitic scholars admit that the first Canaanite inscriptions are of the time of David or Solomon," he does not give his authority for this surprising and sweeping view. Nor is it quite safe to rely entirely upon the traditions of the changes ascribed to Ezra. Finally, even if we grant all Dr. Naville's contentions, it would still be difficult to see how his theories are enough "to shake considerably, I even might say to destroy, the confidence in results which the critics have attained . . ." (p. 24). To judge from this and other references to Old Testament criticism (*e.g.*, p. vii *sqq.*) Dr. Naville has been somewhat misinformed touching the methods and principles of modern Old Testament study. His own suggestion that the early chapters of Genesis were written on tablets and that this might explain the looseness of connexion, the repetition and the absence of proportion (p. 31) is very ingenious, and might seem to offer a better explanation of internal literary intricacies than could any "literary-critical" theory. On the other hand, it does not answer the actual data, and it should not be forgotten that an explanation of the extant phenomena is more necessary than a gratuitous hypothesis that refers properly to an alleged earlier form.

It is more pleasing to note the care taken to record actual external evidence which illustrates the Bible, and Dr. Naville has collected many little details which usefully elucidate important features. The strength of his book lies here and not in his interesting speculations; though it must be remembered that it is because the Old Testament presents so many difficult problems, that resort must be had to speculation, conjecture and hypothesis. Where all students of the Bible are in agreement is in the recognition that external evidence, and especially archaeology, is exercising a profound influence upon our conceptions of the Old Testament.

Where they are at variance is as regards methods and principles, and divers conclusions and hypotheses of greater or less significance. One is glad, therefore, to welcome this contribution from a veteran scholar famous for his Egyptological work; for though the present reviewer does not happen to agree with its main thesis, it is always necessary to note other points of view and the objections brought against positions that seem sound. Only by the patient attention to conflicting positions can there be real progress in the study of the Bible.

In the *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Liverpool University), Vol. VI, No. 3, Mr. L. Woolley deals with Hittite burial customs. He distinguishes six periods: the Neolithic, the Early Bronze, a Transition period, Middle Hittite, and (in the Iron age) a twofold Late Hittite period, and finally the Persian. He finds no sudden break in continuity at the beginning of the Hittite; but, earlier, the Bronze age is distinguished by different burial customs and by new types of pottery. The first date is the Hittite invasion of Babylon about 1750 B.C.; and the latter part of the Bronze age should fall within the Hittite period just as the first is excluded from it: "Unfortunately, we find from the beginning of the Bronze age to its end a steady uniform development in which there occurs no sudden outcrop of markedly new types such as should signalize the advent of an alien period." It is suggested, therefore, that the intruding Hittites were so small a ruling caste as to have but little effect upon the country as a whole. Now, when we come to the late period our dates are Sargon's capture of Carchemish in 718 and that by Nebuchadrezzar in 605. But there is a wholesale change in burial customs in this period: "We find urn burials containing cremated bodies, accompanied by weapons and implements of iron . . . and by numerous bronze fibulae of Cypro-Asiatic type . . . we find imported Cypriote and Greek island pottery . . . with these are imported Egyptian amulets and scarabs, cylinder seals of Hittite manufacture and conoid paste seals which show the intrusion of the Phoenician element." On the basis of the archaeological data, Mr. Woolley concludes: "We must suppose an influx, a peaceful invasion of Carchemish and North Syria, perhaps at the beginning of the eleventh century, by a people who wrote and spoke Hittite, who brought with them iron weapons, whose civilization was in many respects closely bound up with that which

we find in Cyprus and on the mainland of Asia Minor, while in other respects it seems to have had connections further north"

In the same number Dr. Garstang discusses "the Sun-god[dess] of Arenna," a question of importance for Hittite religion and for conceptions of the solar deity in ancient Oriental religions. In a short paper on "the winged deity and other sculptures of Malatia," he raises further questions relating to the Hittite pantheon. Finally, Dr. Seligmann gives "a note on the magico-religious aspect of iron-working in Southern Kordofan." The point lies in the existence of religious ideas encircling the expert who works iron. The craft is hereditary and the man is looked upon as one with special knowledge; every year a sacrifice is offered in order "to bless the iron," i.e., to produce a successful smelting year. The evidence is interesting because in various parts of the world things which are valuable or necessary for life are commonly wrapped up with beliefs and practices of a religious or semi-religious character.

In the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XVIII, among the abstracts of papers we have a suggestive hint for the classification of the data of religions (p. 78). Prof. Rose, of McGill University, criticising the loose use of such terms as *daimon*, *numen*, etc., proposes a fourfold logical division: (a) fetishes, hardly animistic, consisting of objects temporarily or permanently sacred; (b) *genius-daimones*, where the material object is no longer of primary importance; (c) class-daimones (class of objects or of natural phenomena, projections and abstractions); and finally (d) "individualized" daimones, which are little short of actual deities. From the same journal we have a reference (p. 93) to a Roman sarcophagus recently found between Jerusalem and Nablus at Tumus Aya. "It represents a youthful Bacchus with Pan and Silenus escorted by a band of satyrs, and the four Seasons. The last-mentioned are winged figures wearing the chlamys and carrying various appropriate objects. Below appear Earth and her children, and Ocean upon whose waves is a boat holding a man. This sarcophagus resembles closely one in the Louvre, and proves that the stonecutters took their patterns from books and that the same scene might be reproduced in any part of the empire."

We have been favoured with Vols. 36-38 of the *Mitteilungen* of the Royal German Archaeological Institute (1911-13). The volumes belong to the Athenian department of the institute, but some of the

articles are of great interest, if not value, to the student of Oriental archaeology. Among these mention may be made of Weinrich's study of Θεοὶ ἐπίγκοοι (Vol. XXXVII, 1912, pp. 1-68). These are "gods that give ear." The idea is expressed in such Hebrew names as Ishmael, Shemaiah, and in the place-name Eshtemoa, and was naturally associated with the god of the worshipper, whether Semitic, Egyptian, Greek, or Roman. From a survey of the Greek data Weinrich infers that among the Greeks the prevalence of the epithet was due to Oriental influence (p. 25). The article may be commended to the notice of students of (late) Oriental and Greek religion. In Vol. XXXVIII, p. 29 *sqq.*, N. I. Giannopoulos publishes two curious prehistoric seals. Kahrstedt, in the same volume (pp. 148-186), discusses the Cyclade-culture, important for the archaeological history of the Levant. Dr. Brassloff (*ib.*, pp. 203 *sqq.*) discusses some marital laws in the old Gortyn Tables, pointing to archaic family conditions which find a parallel among the Hebrews and the Egyptians. Fr. von Bissing (239 *sqq.*) treats of Egyptian bronze and copper figures of the Middle Kingdom, among them the curious one of "Moses, the son of Ebdu, the shepherd," which he would place in the first half of the XVIIIth dynasty.

S. A. C.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.
 HEBREW.

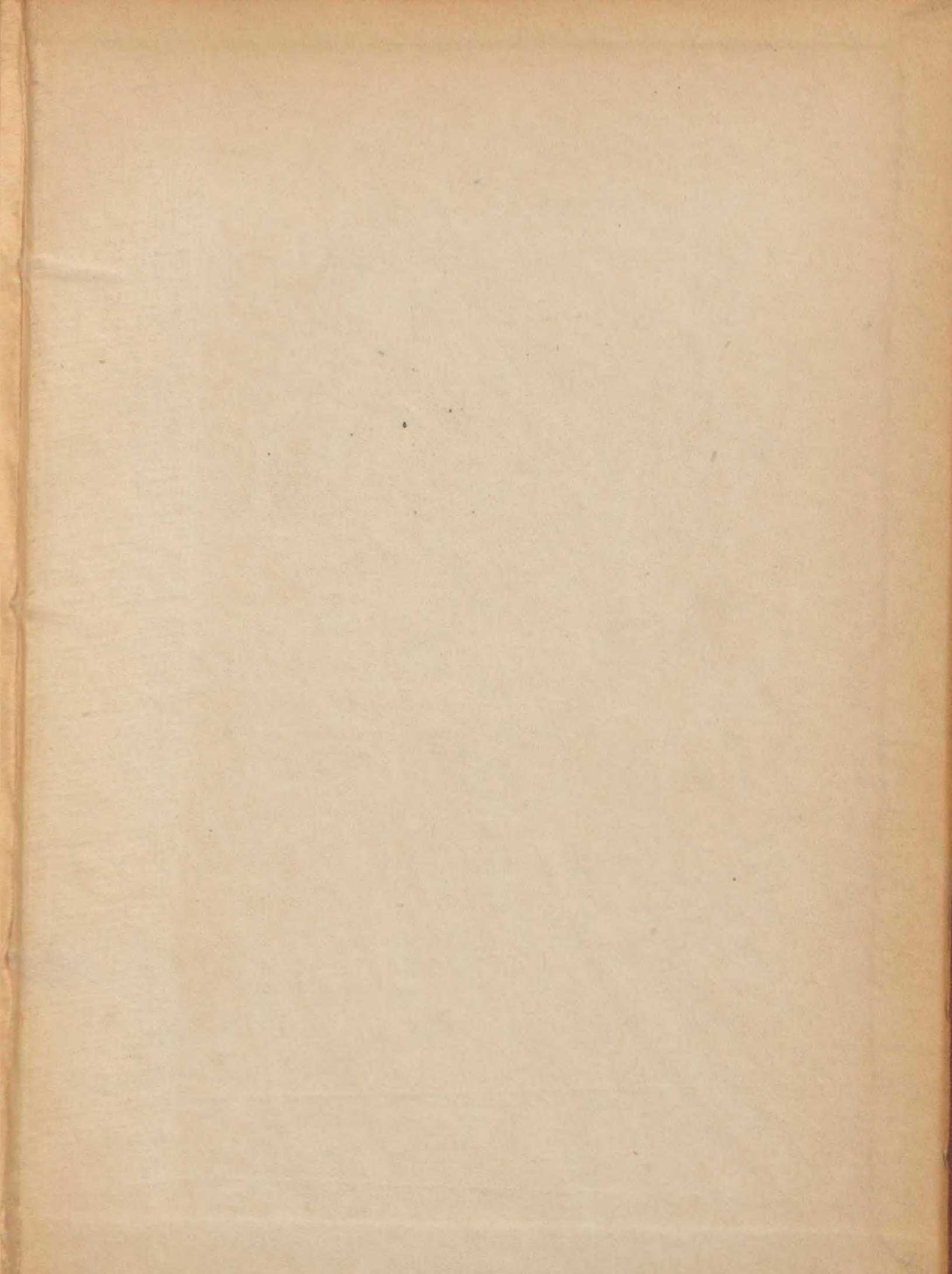
HEBREW.	ENGLISH.	HEBREW.	ENGLISH.
ב	b	ל	l
בּ	bh	מ	m
גּ	gh	נ	n
דּ	d	ס	s
דּ	dh	פּ	p
הּ	h	פּ	f
וּ	v, w	זּ	z
זּ	z	קּ	sh
חּ	h	רּ	r
חּ	t	שּׁ	sh
כּ	y	שּׁ	s
כּ	k	תּ	t
תּ	th	תּ	th

ARABIC.

ARABIC.	ENGLISH.	ARABIC.	ENGLISH.
ب	b	ت	t
بـ	t	تـ	tz
ثـ	th	ثـ	z
جـ	g	جـ	gh
حـ	h	فـ	f
خـ	kh	كـ	k
دـ	d	كـ	k
دـ	dh	لـ	l
رـ	r	مـ	m
زـ	z	نـ	n
سـ	s	هـ	h
شـ	sh	وـ	w
ضـ	z	يـ	y

Long vowels marked thus:—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.





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